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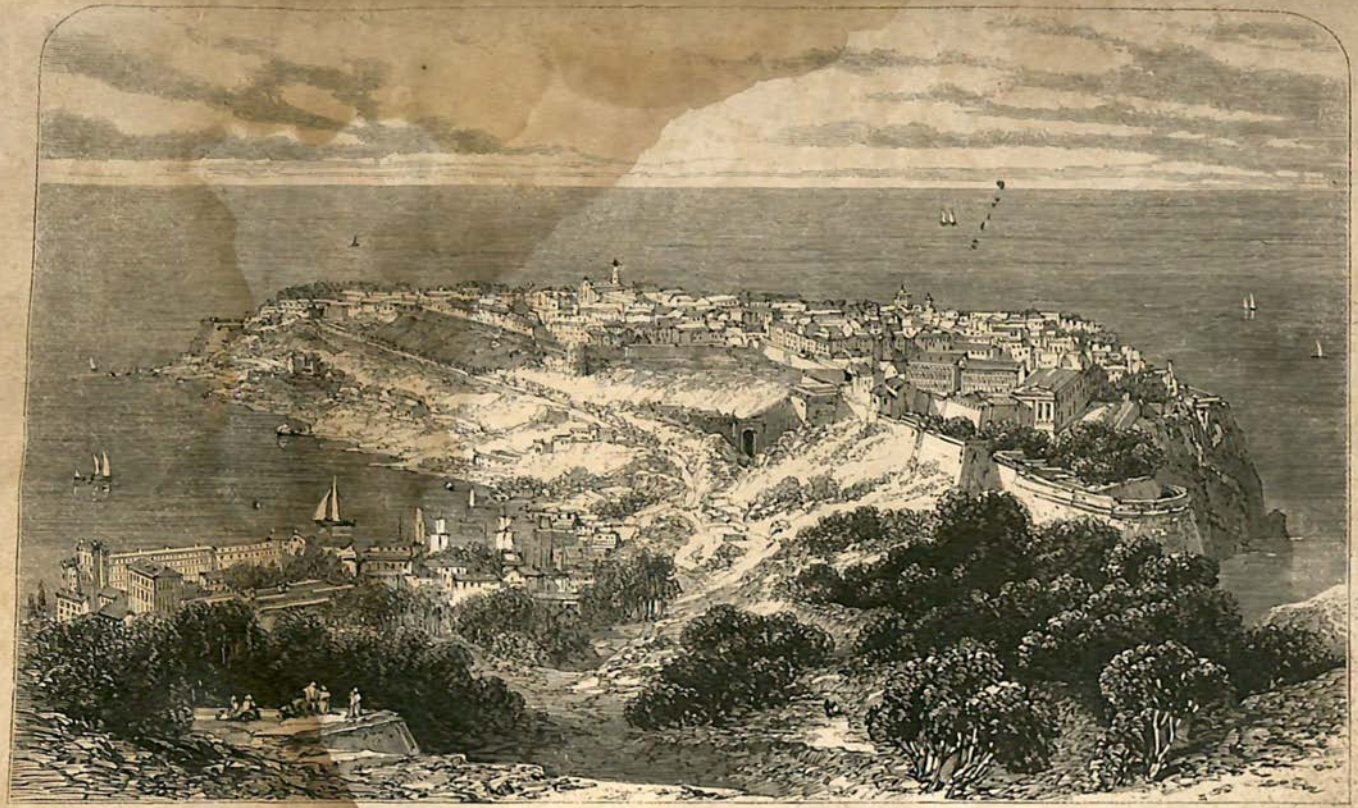
THE

HISTORY OF MONACO.



MONACO.

THE

HISTORY OF MONACO,

2392

PAST AND PRESENT.

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BY H. PEMBERTON.

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PREFACE.

LITTLE excuse need be offered for writing the "History of Monaco" in English, as our countrymen have made it a perfect British colony; and its "Past and Present" must necessarily be of interest to them.

Many and sincere thanks are due from the author to various Mentonaises, who spared neither time nor trouble in seeking for and obtaining confirmation of several points difficult of proof, in consequence of the obstructions raised by those now in authority at Monaco, their object being to prevent any one giving the public a statement of facts, which must inevitably condemn their recent rule, to the world.

The author is especially indebted to the librarian of the *Bibliothèque Public* at Mentone for the help and assistance he gave, and for the valuable manuscripts he placed at his disposal, which were freely made use of and copied from.

London, November, 1867.

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THE HISTORY OF MONACO.

CHAPTER I.

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY.

300 B.C.—944 A.D.

PERCHED on a rock rising 300 feet from the sea, and stretching like a point into it, is the little town of Monaco, nearly all that now remains of the former principality.

Its origin has been traced back as far as 1700 years B.C., hence one may almost state it to be lost in antiquity. That Hercules of Thebes was its founder is generally admitted, and ancient authors speak of its port as *Portus Herculis Monœci*. But the first period one really hears it spoken of with any degree of authenticity is by Hecatæus of Miletus, who wrote about 500 years B.C. When writing of the

ports of the Mediterranean, he mentions Monaco as a town of Liguria. But we learn still more from Strabo, who not only mentions it frequently, but remarks that the harbour is small and little capable of affording shelter to many or large vessels.

However, it must nevertheless have had a certain military importance, which later rendered it a citadel sufficiently impregnable, to afford shelter during the Genoese Republic to the Guelfs and Ghibellines alternately.

Ammianus Marcellinus, who lived in the fourth century, and other authors relate that, after a victory gained against the Ligurians, Hercules consecrated the mountain and port of Monaco to his honour, and, further, that Hercules was worshipped in that part of Liguria, as he was at a later period all over Italy.

Some historians assert the Phœnicians to have been the founders of the town of Monaco; that they, after spreading their religion in Egypt, dispersed over the coast of the Mediterranean, raising temples to Hercules in Spain, Gaul, and Italy. It is worthy of notice that all places consecrated to Hercules in Italy were maritime, hence it is inferred that the Phœnicians, being a seafaring people, were, at any rate, the first civilized settlers in Monaco. The introduction of the palm tree

is also due to them, their name originating in the great number of palms that grew in their neighbourhood, and which trees they endeavoured to plant wherever they themselves settled.

At that period Monaco had not the slightest importance as a town, but simply as a maritime station.

Before the Christian era the Maritime Alps were inhabited by savage tribes, whose occupations consisted in hunting, fishing, and warfare. Then came the Phocians, who, after a bloody struggle with the inhabitants, entirely subdued this portion of the Alps; they then taught them agriculture and introduced the olive, since become the great source of wealth to the country.

From the time of Hannibal the inhabitants of Monaco and the country around were compelled to keep up an incessant warfare against the Romans, which terribly weakened their armies without any benefit accruing to them in return. The rivalry between Pompey and Cæsar also affected this part of the Mediterranean. Monaco sided with Cæsar, whilst Nice and Marseille, under a pretended neutrality, ranged themselves on Pompey's side. Cæsar, however, being victorious, crossed the Alps, and going to Monaco, embarked from that port for Genoa, from

whence he proceeded to Rome. Æneas makes allusion to this journey.*

Roman dominion, which for long had been struggling for supremacy in Liguria, was at length definitely settled by a famous battle, in which Augustus Cæsar was conqueror. A temporary peace was the result, and a lasting memorial in the famous tower at Turbia, which all who have ever travelled over the Cornice road must be well acquainted with. It stands in ruined grandeur midway between Nice and Mentone, on the summit of the mountain, and commands an entire view of the ex-principality of Monaco. But half the tower is standing, yet it is only on a near approach one perceives that one side has been entirely destroyed. It remained entire till 1706, when the French, considering it as a fortification, destroyed it at the same time as the Castle at Nice. The name Turbia has, according to Gioffredo, who quotes from the Lérins manuscripts, degenerated from Trophœa Augusti, which was first cut down to Tropea, then Tropia, Torbia, and finally Turbia.

In 1585 Father Boyer states that a colossal head of Augustus was found by himself within the fortress, and though in a sadly mutilated condition, yet suffi-

* Virgil, Æneid, song vi. verse 830.

ciently preserved for him to take its measurement, which, he says, made him calculate the statue, when entire, to have been fully 22 feet in height. Towards the latter end of the last century a head of Drusus was dug out of some ruins, which is preserved in the Museum at Copenhagen, where it was placed by the Prince of Denmark, who purchased it himself on the spot.*

At the time of Otho and Vitellius disputing the Roman empire, Marius Maturus held the Maritime Alps, and levied large forces amongst the mountaineers with the object of driving Otho from the country, but the peasants, incapable of contending against such powerful antagonists, were mostly cut to pieces, and those that escaped death were speedily dispersed. In the year 69 A.D. Otho and Vitellius met in a sanguinary engagement in the environs of Monaco and Lumone.† In this battle Vitellius entirely lost his Ligurian supporters, when Favius Valens, who acknowledged him as emperor, landed at Monaco with troops destined to strengthen his partisan, Marius Maturus.

* In 1859 the Piedmontese government resolved to restore the Tower of Augustus, and all the plans were prepared for that purpose, when war put an end to the enterprise. When peace again reigned Turbia belonged to France.

† A town, the traces of which are still to be found on Cape Martin.

This, however, proved a fatal expedition. Vespasian having been proclaimed emperor by some Asiatic legions, sent his lieutenant, Valerius, to take Favius, an order which was carried out without much difficulty, the winds and waves favouring the former. Favius Valens' ship was driven on shore on the islands of Hyères, where Valerius easily captured him. From that moment victory continued with the Emperor Vespasian. Thus it was between Monaco and Hyères that the fate of Vitellius was decided.

The Emperors Vitellius and Pertinax are both said to have been born at Turbia, and as no other country assumes to itself the honour of giving birth to them, it may be that Turbia but claims that which is her own. Pertinax, in 193, is stated to have built the towers of Château-Neuf and the Spélugues, in order to protect the post of Monaco; and that Septimus Severus ordered fortifications on the plâteau of *Moneghetti.* But there is nothing to prove this beyond tradition.

About the time of Vitellius' death Christianity was first preached in the Maritime Alps by St Barnabas, and afterwards by St Nazaire, who proclaimed the gospel at Cimiez, near Nice, under Nero's reign. Both were martyred at Rome. In the time

of Decius St Bassus, the first Bishop of Nice, was martyred in that town, as was also his successor, St Pons.

Persecutions were frightful everywhere, but in the joint reigns of Diocletian and Maximilian they assumed a violence terrible to think of even at this distance of time. Death was invariably preceded by tortures of the most exquisite cruelty. Men, women, and children were alike the victims of faith. It was one continued blood-shedding, the contest was awful, yet the preaching of the gospel continued, and as score after score of the faithful fell beneath the sufferings they were called on to endure, score after score rose up to fill the empty ranks left vacant by the martyrs of Christianity.

Amongst those whose history is mixed up with that before us is Saint Dévote's, the patron saint of Monaco. Her story, as given in the chronicles of the Lérins, is as follows :—

'In the time of the Emperors Diocletian and Maximilian there lived in Corsica a young maiden named Dévote, a Christian from her birth. Hearing that a governor was about to be sent to the island in order to persecute the Christians, Dévote went secretly to the house of Senator Euticus, as much out of fear of the

Pagans as with the hope that there she might, under his protection, follow out the precepts of her religion in peace.

'This happy follower of Christ, brought up in all Christian virtues, passed her days and nights in singing praises to God, and delivering her body up to the severest austerity. Incessantly she meditated on these words: — "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled." She subdued her body by abstinence, and none could dissuade her from the most rigorous fasts, or induce her to take subsistence except on days of relaxation. Euticus remarked all this and remonstrated with her, asking her why she thus wore away her life by such severe fasts. She replied that she was not exhausting her life, for God daily strengthened her with His good gifts. After that Euticus ceased to vex her with questions, being filled with a pious fear, and from that time forth he was unable to look on her countenance, from the brilliancy of the light that shone on it.

'Soon after the expected governor arrived in the island, attended by a numerous suite, and offered sacrifices to the gods. All the principal people of Corsica assembled together, Euticus amongst them. The sacrifices were proceeded with, and incense offered to their

idols. On hearing this Dévote mourned over their blindness, and gave herself up to unceasing prayer for their conversion. Some one informed the governor of the existence of this young girl, of her having sought refuge in the house of Senator Euticus, and of her refusing to sacrifice to the gods. Then the governor turned to Euticus, and desired him to deliver the maiden up to him. This the senator refused to do; then the governor, fearing to quarrel with him openly, he being an influential man, had him secretly poisoned, and then sent his emmissaries to take the Christian maiden and bring her before him. Whilst being led away she never ceased repeating these words: "O God, come to my aid; hasten, Lord, to help me."

'The moment she stood before the governor he commanded her to offer a sacrifice to the gods. She replied, "Each day sees me serving the true God, with the desire of a pure heart; as to your gods, gods of wax and stone, I deny them, they are but masks, that neither see nor hear." Then the governor, carried away with rage, desired her mouth to be crushed with stones, and cried, "Cease to blaspheme the gods and goddesses." He then ordered her to be bound hand and foot and dragged over sharp-pointed rocks; during this torture she said, "I thank thee, my

Saviour, that thou hast found me worthy to be martyred for thy sake. Receive also thy servant Euticus, who for my sake was barbarously murdered by this cruel man."

'More exasperated than ever at her words, he commanded her to be suspended from the horse, a fearful instrument of torture, where she cried to her Saviour to receive her soul. Then was a voice heard saying, "My worthy servant, thy voice is heard, all that thou hast asked or wilt ask thou shalt obtain." At the same moment a dove flew out of her mouth, and taking rapid flight, ascended up to heaven.

'The governor hearing that the young virgin's soul had already been received into heaven, ordered her body to be burnt. At the same time two Christian priests, that fear of persecution had caused to conceal themselves in a cave, were warned in a vision to go immediately and take the body of the martyred maiden out of the island. Accordingly they made arrangements with a mariner named Gratian; and in the night, escorted by a multitude of virgins, they carried the body on board the boat, embalmed it, and set sail for Africa; but a strong south wind kept driving them northwards. The little bark was tossed to and fro, and kept filling with water; all night long they

worked hard to save themselves from sinking. At length Gratian said to one of the priests that he must watch the boat whilst he himself took some repose. Very soon he fell asleep, and then the young girl's spirit appeared to him, and touching him, said, "Rise, the wind is going down and the sea is becoming calm, your bark will no longer fill with water and will cease to battle with the waves. You and the holy priests watch attentively, and when you see a dove come out of my mouth follow it till you arrive at a place called, in Greek, *Monaco;* in Latin, *Singulare;* there bury my body." Then he rose up, and looking attentively, they all saw the dove come forth from her mouth, and they followed it to the spot indicated by the saint. On reaching Monaco the dove rested in the Valley of Gaumates, where there is a church in honour of St George, there they placed the body of the holy virgin and martyr, Dévote, on the 16th day of the February Calends (27th January).'

The chief interest that rests with this legend is that to this day St Dévote's fête is kept with great ceremony on the 27th of January in each year, priests carrying her sacred relics, and processions formed by all the inhabitants of the little principality to do honour to her memory. An oratory was built at the

entrance of the Gaumates valley for the purpose of containing the relics, but since that they have been removed to the parish church.

In 1612 Honoré, second Prince of Monaco, erected a bronze statue in honour of St Dévote.

A time of peace followed these terrible persecutions, which seemed to give promise of repose to Rome and the newly-Christianized world; but it was of short duration: the calm but proved the forerunner of such stirring events that the downfall of the Roman empire was the consequent result. Her ruin was making rapid strides onwards.

A host of barbarians, after committing depredations throughout Gaul, finally brought complete desolation to entire Italy, and left their bloody traces from one end of the country to the other. Monaco, owing to her protected position, escaped for some time the fate of other towns along the littoral; but in the end, like the rest, she was given over to pillage and fire.

The fall of the Roman empire caused Liguria to be freed from her dominion; but the Lombards, into whose hands she fell, proved but cruel and oppressive masters. From 590 till 775, when Charlemagne removed the yoke from off their necks by uniting their country to his empire, they were but mere slaves.

Still peace and rest were far from them. A new, terrible, and unexpected enemy assailed them in the Saracens. But, seeing their danger, they easily resolved to strengthen themselves by union, and in 729 the towns of the Ligurian littoral joined together, and by common consent placed themselves under the protectorate of Genoa. This enabled them, conjointly with the help afforded them by Charlemagne, to keep at bay their assailants, and during his life the Saracens never made way on these shores; but the great emperor was hardly in his grave before their troubles began afresh, and with no longer the power successfully to combat them.

They took and held the best positions in Provence. Amongst the principal was the famous fortress of Fraxinet, by some historians believed to be near St Tropez, but by others on the peninsula of St Hospice, between Nice and Monaco, near to Eza; at any rate, all agree in stating the Saracens to have been masters of the entire position from Monaco to St Tropez, and that they had even entered Savoy, Cisjurane, King of Burgundy, having actually permitted their establishing themselves, perhaps, though we are not told so, because he could not help himself. They strengthened themselves on the mountains around

Monaco, at St Agnes, Turbia, and Eza, pillaging the whole country, massacring the inhabitants, and burning the towns.

Hugues, King of Italy, receiving letters from his wife, Bertha, urging him to send and chastise these enemies of Christianity, gathered together powerful forces to attack them by sea and by land; which he did successfully, taking their great fortress of Fraxinet from them and driving them into the Esterel mountains; but there he feared to follow them, and in 944 he brought the warfare to a conclusion by a dishonourable treaty, giving them back Fraxinet and even granting them territory in Dauphiny and Savoy, on condition that they took part with Hugues against Berenger, his rival claimant to the throne of Italy, and that they held the pass of St Bernard, and the Valley of Noster, preventing any attempt of Berenger to cross that way. But this treaty, as might be expected, was broken the first opportunity it suited the Saracens. (See Appendix A.)

CHAPTER II.

THE FIRST GRIMALDI.

It was not till 973 that there appeared any prospect of the Saracens being driven from this part of the world; then William, first Viscount of Marseilles, Count of Arles, and a descendant of Bozon, King of Arles, determined to drive them from his dominions,* which extended over nearly the whole of Provence. He attacked them by land and sea, and was supported by many a valiant hand; all were ready to join the common cause against the barbarian invaders.

The Great Fraxinet was taken, and this time, for fear of eventualities, was razed to the ground. Then were the Saracens pursued from stronghold to stronghold, till at length they were driven to take refuge in a range of rocky mountains, that on one side were almost perpendicular, and on the other not much easier of approach, and hence were con-

* The Saracens took possession of the Convent of St Sauveur, near Marseilles, and cut off the noses of all the nuns.

sidered inaccessible. They managed, however, by scaling these rocky peaks, to gain a position nearer the sea, which to them was of vital importance; and whilst gathering all their forces together in these desolate regions, hope, that for a time began to fade, once more revived amongst them. On the other hand, wearied by such persistent opposition, apparently making way, yet never actually gaining ground, the Christian troops began to despond and to urge their commanders to give up so hopeless a conquest. Foremost in the victories already gained, and the leader to whom was due the glory of taking the Great Fraxinet, was one Giballin Grimaldi, a noble of Genoese origin, who, amongst many others, had tendered his services to William of Marseilles.

A valiant and brave soldier, he could not resign himself to the thought of letting the Saracens remain in peace and at liberty to go on with their cruelties whilst he still had forces at his command. He therefore resolved on one final attempt, and he imparted his enthusiasm in the cause to those he was about to lead to death or victory.

In the dead of night, when all was still, he determined to lead on his forlorn hope. In order to surprise the enemy, he determined to scale the perpendi-

cular side of the rock. This was done successfully, and, as he anticipated, he found no watch to warn them of his approach. They reached the summit safely and unnoticed, and the result fulfilled the wildest hopes of the brave soldier, he gained a complete victory; the whole of the Saracens were massacred before sunrise, and Giballin Grimaldi returned to the valley to meet the reward that he well merited.

His brilliant services were recompensed, by William conferring on him as fief land the coast between St Tropez and Fréjus; which formerly was called *Sinus Sambracitanus*, but, in honour of the gallant soldier, was named the Gulf of Grimaud. The deed of gift was drawn up and executed in September, 980.

This date is the earliest authentic period from which it is possible to trace the Grimaldis as holding any power over the territory of Monaco. The actual history of their house may be said to commence from this time, though there is much diversity of opinion on the subject. According to some old records kept in the library of Mentone, the principality of Monaco belonged to the Grimaldis from 920, through the gift of Otho I., for having gained a victory over the Saracens in that year; but as Otho at that period

could only have been eight years of age, and that he did not begin to reign till 937, and that he died in 973, without fulfilling his oft-repeated promise of driving away the Saracens, it is not a record of much value.

Again, Venasque, secretary to Honoré II., Prince of Monaco, made out in 1647 a genealogical tree of the House of Grimaldi, tracing, in a way sufficiently satisfactory to please his master, their descent as far back as 712 to Pepin d'Heristal, whose son was assassinated at Liège in 714. Pepin then placed his grandchild, a boy of five years of age, in his father's place as mayor of the palace of Anstrasia. However Venasque is not worthy of any dependence; his genealogical tree was drawn up to gratify and gain favour with Honoré II., and all facts recorded by him that could in any way cast a shade over a Grimaldi are carefully clothed in language that well conceals defects.

The most accepted account of the origin of the Grimaldi family is the one we have first given; and Giballin was valiant and brave enough to be received by them as the founder of their house, however great their pride may be.

That in 980 the Saracens were in possession of

the fortresses of the Great Fraxinet, St Hospice, Turbia, Eza, St Agnes, and Villafranca, is authenticated; therefore it is barely probable that the Grimaldis were the lords of Monaco from 920 without any recorded attempt to rid themselves of such destructive neighbours till Giballin rose up from obscurity and expelled them from the country. Moreover, the fact of Hugues, King of Italy, being, in 944, urged to send forces against them, and after a victory entering into a treaty with them by which he restored the Great Fraxinet to them, and no mention whatever occurring of the name of Grimaldi, proves that, at that period, they could have had no title to be called either masters or possessors of the territory, or even to have had a share in the warfare carried on against the invaders by the King of Italy, neither could William of Marseilles have conferred on Giballin Grimaldi as a reward for his achievements the land from Saint Tropez to Fréjus, if it already belonged to his father, or to himself in right of his father.

At any rate their history is a blank till 980, unless we accept the romance drawn by Venasque.

Notwithstanding their expulsion from Liguria and Provence, the Saracens still held ground at the two extremities. Giballin therefore erected a habit-

able tower, where he himself resided between the sea and where the Great Fraxinet had stood, thus placing himself in a position to be instantly aware of any approach of his enemies, or even any attempt to attack him, either by land or sea. He had not long to wait for action. Giballin Grimaldi's character resembled in many points that of Garibaldi; he was ever ready to help the weak and fight on the side of the oppressed. His philanthropic nature was already well known, and hence the resolution adopted by the Nizzards to send a deputation to him and implore his assistance against their common enemy, who still held the Little Fraxinet.*

To their already powerful army Giballin instantly joined his forces, and himself took the command, and after several hard-fought battles he succeeded in driving them from Villafranca, Castellare, Turbia, and St Hospice, the Little Fraxinet was destroyed, and the Ligurian borders delivered from the barbarians.

Monaco, like all the adjacent towns, did not recover the oppression it had been subject to during the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, till 1215, when it was restored by the Genoese. From the time the

* The Little Fraxinet is supposed to have been situated at Villafranca or St Hospice.

Saracens were driven out till 1191 the rock was utterly abandoned, then the Emperor Henry VI., perceiving the importance of its position, made it over to Genoa.

This had already been done by Raymond V., Count of Toulouse, who had granted them the power of trading in all the towns between Arles and Turbia, and also conferred on them the place and mountain of Monaco, with the lands dependent on it, 'to enjoy as actual possessors.' But till the Emperor of Germany confirmed the gift the Genoese took no advantage of it. Then, however, they sent two consuls and two nobles, accompanied by two of the emperor's deputies, who, in Henry VI.'s name, invested the consuls with the power of holding and possessing the rock, port, and entire territory of Monaco. In this transaction there is no mention made of the Grimaldis or their claim over the lands thus disposed of, nor do we hear of them again, except casually, till they rise to the surface in the quarrels between the Guelfs and Ghibellines.

The Genoese were notwithstanding unable to establish themselves in Monaco for four-and-twenty years after it was made over to them, owing to the feeling of animosity existing against them amongst the Nizzards and Counts of Provence, who, by incessant hostilities, kept them in constant anxiety; still we do

not hear of a Grimaldi standing in their path, or being in any active way engaged against them.

In 1215 they at last made a forward step, and on the 6th of June in that year Falco de Castello and several nobles were enabled to land at Monaco, and were followed by ships laden with wood, lime, iron, and other building materials, and on the 10th of the same month the foundation of the palace was laid, nor did they leave till the circumference wall and four towers were built.

In 1220 Frederic II., son of Henry VI., ratified his father's gift to the Genoese, on the condition that all forts raised in Monaco should be reserved, and always ready for the service of the empire. Thus by a double donation were the Genoese secured to Monaco and its lands.

Twenty years later wars broke out between the Republic and Frederic II., then the Genoese sought the alliance of Raymond Berenger, Count of Provence. They sent ambassadors to him, and on the 22nd of July, in the year 1240, a Convention was signed at Aix, in the Count's Chapel, by which, amongst other things, it was stipulated that 'Berenger renounced all claim to the rock, port, and littoral of Monaco, and over all the country from Turbia to Genoa.'

It was about this time that the Lascaris, Counts of Ventimiglia, ceded Mentone, Piupin,* and Roccabruna, which from the expulsion of the Saracens were dependent on them, to the great Genoese, William Vento. The Republic, however, claiming jurisdiction, a lawsuit followed, in which Vento succeeded in proving his rights over the towns in dispute, and to him was granted the power of appointing governors, judges, &c., &c.

From the time of Giballin Grimaldi till the latter half of the thirteenth century little that is worth recording is known of his family. Various members of it joined in the Crusade wars; and the admiral of the fleet that bore John of Brienne, King of Jerusalem, and Andrew, second King of Hungary, to Egypt, was a Grimaldi. Several of them also fought in the seventh crusade with Lewis IX., the saint king.†

In 1240, during the great struggle between the Empire and the Papacy, Genoa sided with the Guelf party, for the pope against the emperor. Gregory IX., thinking to destroy his enemies with spiritual weapons, convoked a council for Easter at St John of Lateran. Genoa undertook to convey to Rome the English and

* Podium Pinum, not a trace of which now remains.

† Their escutcheon hangs in the Crusade Chamber in the Museum at Versailles.

French prelates that had assembled at Nice for the purpose of proceeding there in answer to the pope's summons; but before thus setting the emperor at defiance, the Republic thought it advisable to place the western frontier of their possessions in security. To this end they despatched two deputies to Aix, and there Raymond Berenger V. concluded a treaty with them by which they mūtually agreed to respect and protect the lands and people of one another. Berenger was to guard and watch over the Genoese territory from Genoa to Monaco, and Genoa to act the same part by her ally from Monaco to the extreme end of Provence, which extended to the Rhône.

The Guelf cause was unfortunate; the Genoese fleet carrying the priests met the Ghibelline fleet, which was composed of the emperor's Sicilian vessels and Pisan ships. Of the 27 Genoese galleys, three were sunk and 19 taken, 4000 men made prisoners, and the cardinals and bishops taken to Pisa, where they were put in silver chains. The conquered fleet was under the command of James Malocello, and several members of the great Guelf families of Grimaldi and Fieschi held posts of responsibility under him. It was after this defeat they sought refuge in exile, and escaped to the fortified towns of

the littoral, where they soon made terms with Charles of Anjou, who took their part against the Ghibellines.

In 1257, Charles, desiring to recover his ancient rights over some of the neighbouring territory, laid claim to the province of Ventimiglia. William II., Count of Ventimiglia, feeling the impossibility of contending with his royal oppressor, submitted with as good a grace as he could; Charles in compensation gave him lands situated in Provence, and an income of 5000 sous. But this arrangement caused great offence to the Genoese, who feared Charles as a near neighbour; however, not wishing to quarrel, yet resolved to test their rights over Ventimiglia and the territory belonging to it, which belonged to them through imperial gifts, they sent three deputies to Aix to contest his taking possessions of the territory of the Lascaris. Charles, also feeling himself unable to persist beyond a certain point, agreed to a compromise, which was signed by the contending parties on the 2nd July, 1260, by which the king retained the lands of Ventimiglia without the town, Castiglione, and Briga, and the Genoese held Ventimiglia town, Monaco, and Roccabruna; Mentone* and Piupin being still retained by the Ventos.

* There are still a few coins in existence bearing the Vento effigy, which were struck at Mentone during this period.

The Genoese desiring to attach to their government more firmly these slippery possessions, permitted the Monacians commercial privileges, which empowered them to transport from Genoa to Monaco, without tax, all merchandise necessary for the benefit of the inhabitants, and they were also enabled to dispose of their own produce without paying export duty.

But this temporary lull was not to last. In 1271 quarrels took place amongst the rival families of Genoa, that again brought on war. Luccheto Grimaldi had been elected podesta of Ventimiglia; but he had had much to contend against in the interest given by the Curli family to the Dorias and Spinolas. Though successful at Ventimiglia, Luchetto was defeated in his endeavours to be created a magistrate at Genoa by Oberto Spinola and Oberto Doria, whom the people elected captains of the Republic. Lucchetto's supporters flew to Ventimiglia for protection, where he had himself remained; but too weak of themselves to revenge their wrongs on the Ghibellines, they appealed to the King of Naples, promising in case of their success, and of their being, through his aid, able to enter Genoa as rulers, to recognize themselves as his vassals. Charles promised them his support, and war was de-

clared between him and the Genoese Republic. The Provençal troops being in the field turned the scales for the time being in favour of the Guelfs. Seneschal Burlas, to whom William Vento opened the gates of the Castle of Mentone, attacked and retook Roccabruna and Ventimiglia; but the following year the towns were besieged by Rinaldo Spinola, and once more held by the Ghibellines. Having succeeded in driving the Seneschal's troops back, Spinola attempted, but fruitlessly, to take Mentone, Charles's troops bravely resisting the Republicans. Peace was at last brought about by the interposition of Pope Adrian V. in 1276, who was a member of the Fieschi family. By the treaty then concluded the Grimaldis retained Monaco, and could re-enter Genoa.

The quarrel between the Guelfs and Ghibellines broke out again 20 years after this, and Monaco was the refuge of the defeated side. There, in 1296, the Fieschis, Grimaldis, and other chiefs of the vanquished side sought safety. They fortified themselves so strongly, that all the efforts made by the Genoese to dislodge them were ineffectual, whilst they, on the other hand, were committing every description of hostility against the Republic. Genoa being fully alive to the fact, that without Charles of Anjou's help they

could not offer such resistance or be guilty of such aggressions, once more declared war against him. This was happily averted by a conference held between the representatives of the two powers. The king undertook to restore to Genoa all the fortresses held by the Guelfs, and the Guelfs were once more free to return to Genoa and take back their confiscated lands. Charles having acquired by purchase all the real estate they possessed in Monaco, Eza, and Turbia, he converted them into a fief in favour of Nicholas Spinola, in 1303, who in return paid the king 100 ounces of gold. This is the first establishment of the Spinola family in the country.

The Guelfs that did not choose to return to Genoa were permitted to establish themselves at Nice, Turbia, or Eza, without being subject to any tax or the payment of any tribute. They were also permitted to retain all their war-weapons and ammunition. Those that did return, however, to Genoa, again aroused the everlasting hatred between the Guelfs and Ghibellines, and all the horrors of a civil war once more began. Opicino Spinola, captain-general of the Republic, was driven out with all his adherents; the Guelf cause thus triumphed. Mentone was besieged and taken by King Robert's troops, successor to

Charles II., though soon after it was retaken by the Genoese. Hunted from all parts, the Ghibellines found in Monaco their only place of refuge, which since its cession by Charles II. to the Spinolas had been occupied by that family.

Francis Grimaldi, called Malizia, being one of the Guelf chiefs who evacuated Monaco on Charles II. delivering it over to Genoa, and who refused to return to his own country, had since that period lived in retirement at Nice, forming plans, and watching eagerly for an opportunity of re-taking Monaco. The Spinolas having rendered themselves odious by their pride and overbearance, even caused the Doria family to withdraw their alliance. Francis Grimaldi took advantage of their disunion, and gained the Dorias over to himself. Together they organized the plot which Malizia so successfully carried out. On Christmas Eve, in the year 1306, the Spinolas, still holding the rock, went at midnight with all the inhabitants and the garrison to Mass. This was the moment fixed on by Francis to execute his plans. Disguised as a monk, he approached the town, which his garb enabled him to enter without difficulty. Once in, with the help of those he had already caused to be there and await him, the sentinels on duty were strangled, and

then all his adherents were admitted. In a short space of time the forts and town were in their hands. Resistance against such numbers being impossible, the Spinolas sought safety in flight, leaving the Guelfs masters of the rock.

M. Abel Rendu suggests as a no unlikely thing that the Grimaldi arms, being supported on either side by a monk holding a drawn sword, takes its origin from this occurrence.

CHAPTER III.

CHARLES GRIMALDI, FIRST LORD OF MONACO.

WHILST Francis Grimaldi was concerting plans for his re-establishment in Monaco, which we have seen were successfully carried out, his brother Rainier was also distinguishing himself in a manner that brought him both wealth and honour.

At this period the navies of Italy were considered superior to any others; and it was to the Italian Republics that the kings of France frequently made application for aid, when the exigencies of war necessitated their having recourse to maritime force. When Philip IV., surnamed Le Bel, was carrying on war with Flanders, he placed a governor over the provinces he had conquered, whose tyranny was such, that the people, incensed past bearing by his cruelties, rose up *en masse*, and gained the famous battle of Courtray, in which the flower of the French army perished. Philip resolved to crush a people who had dared to rebel against the ruler his authority had

placed over them; and the more surely to gain his end he determined—the country being intersected by rivers and canals and estuaries like arms of the sea—to employ a navy. When Charles, Count of Valois, the king's brother, was called to Italy by Pope Boniface VIII., to take command of the Guelf party, he had heard much of the reputation for bravery and valour of Rainier Grimaldi; therefore Philip deputed Charles to offer Rainier a command in the French service. Rainier accepted, and equipped 16 galleys, which he took with him. The king gathered from the various French ports 20 more, but neither so light nor so well manned as the Italian. With these Rainier received orders to raise the siege of Ziriczee, which was blockaded by Guy de Dampierre, Count of Flanders. Rainier as he advanced seized much valuable booty, destroyed and captured several ships, and finally, in August, 1304, gained the mouth of the Scheldt, in sight of the Island of Schouwen, of which Ziriczee is the capital. Guy was fully prepared to meet his enemy with forces far exceeding those Rainier had at command; still the latter, perceiving this, advanced bravely and full of confidence.

The encounter took place with a stolid firmness on the Flemish side, and hot eagerness on the Italian;

but the latter were unable to withstand the enormous forces opposed to them; the tide also was in favour of their enemy; but they struggled on bravely for hours, several of their ships were taken, some foundered, others were burnt, and the Flemish added another victory to that of Courtray. But the tide turned, and with it their fortune. Rainier, seeing the moment had arrived to redeem his losses, seized it. He ranged his remaining ships in line, leaving the heavy French ships to keep the enemy occupied on the left, whilst he, with well-directed fire, attacked them on the right, cutting them in two; without a minute's loss he made for the ship where the admiral's flag was flying, boarded it, and took Guy prisoner. Rainier's mission over, he returned with his captive to France, when Philip rewarded his services by creating him Admiral-General of France, with an annuity of 1000 francs, and conferred on him the manor of Villeneuve, in Normandy.

Robert, King of Naples, also confided to Rainier the command of the immense fleet he sent against the Emperor Henry VII. and Frederic, King of Sicily, in 1312, through which the Guelfs gained fresh victories, and Gaspar Colonna, a general of the empire, was taken prisoner, and conducted to Naples.

This is the last we hear of Rainier; and his brother Francis is stated to have been killed in an engagement near Ventimiglia in 1309.

In 1314 the Guelf party, being in possession of Genoa, drove out the Ghibellines, who made a vigorous attempt to re-instate themselves in 1318; but Genoa flew to the protection of Robert of Anjou, who went himself with a powerful army to their aid, reaching Genoa on the 21st of July. For a time they kept the Ghibellines at bay; but in 1320 they were reinforced by a fleet of twenty-eight galleys, and made for Savona. The Guelfs sent thirty-two ships against them, commanded by Gasparo Grimaldi; but, after an unfortunate encounter, he had to put back to Genoa, which port the Ghibellines then blockaded. Very soon the dearth of provisions began to create despair amongst the inhabitants, when hope was revived by the return of Rinaldo Grimaldi with the Genoese fleet from the East; he forced the blockade, sunk several of the enemy's ships, and caused ten galleys, laden with corn bought at Constantinople, to enter. The war continued with success alternating between the contending parties, till subsequent events caused them temporarily to forget their animosities, and join together against a common enemy.

In these changes occasioned by war Monaco was not without being affected. The Spinolas wrested it from the second Rainier, who held it from the death of Francis till 1327: thus the Grimaldis' dominion on this occasion lasted but twenty-one years. They then fell back on their old friend, Robert of Anjou, for aid. When his troops were known to be ordered to join the forces of Grimaldi, the Spinolas offered to surrender; but the discord existing amongst the besiegers as to ulterior possession of the place, having compromised their success, it was not till the year following that, attacked by Aigueblanche, Seneschal of Provence, they really, after an honourable resistance, gave up the contest. King Robert, in coming to the aid of the Grimaldis, had in this instance less their interest at heart than a desire of putting an end to the pirating carried on by the inhabitants, which, however, he was not successful in doing, the port of Hercules remaining still for a long time the hot-bed of maritime brigandage.

In 1330 Rainier died; peace was then concluded between the contending parties, and in 1331 the two factions united their efforts against the pirate Catalans, who had become the terror of the whole littoral, ravaging the entire coast. At this time Rainier's

son Charles was chief of the Grimaldis; he proved himself to be a son worthy of his father; he fought bravely and with success, the Catalans rapidly disappearing, though as they were driven back they committed frightful depredations along the Ligurian coast. Retribution was however in store for them: another of Rainier's sons, named Anthony, followed them at the head of forty-five galleys, he seized a number of their vessels off Barcelona, and many of the towns along the coast retain sorry recollections of his passage. Peace was at length signed with Alphonso, their king, in 1336, and maritime commerce was once more carried on in tolerable security.

This peace was barely concluded when the eternal animosities once more broke out between the Guelfs and Ghibellines. An election which favoured the families of Doria and Spinola, rekindled angry feelings in the breasts of the Grimaldis, who, refusing to recognize the authority of their rivals, withdrew with the Fieschis to Monaco, and there got ready a fleet for the purpose of blockading the port of Genoa: this they did, being aided by Robert of Anjou with money. From there they directed their course towards the Adriatic and Greek Archipelago, took Scio, and returned laden with booty and riches to their rock.

Two years later Monaco again sent twenty-two ships to Genoa, and for several days they blockaded the port, doing considerable injury to their commerce.

A fresh cause of dispute now arose between the chiefs of the two factions. Nicholas Spinola, having purchased from Charles of Anjou the rights of possession and jurisdiction over the town and territory of Monaco, very naturally looked on the Grimaldis as usurpers and plunderers; and determined to wrest what by right of purchase was his, back again. Charles, thinking that his own adherents might possibly see some degree of justice in Spinola's claims, thought it prudent to suggest an amicable arrangement, and offered to pay 12,000 golden florins, at that time a very considerable sum, on Spinola resigning to him his entire rights over the territory he considered he had been robbed of. To this proposition Spinola agreed, and on the 9th of July, 1338, in the Square of San Lucca at Genoa, he ceded to Rabella Grimaldi, Charles's cousin, and who represented him on the occasion, every title of claim in any form to Monaco and the territory then attached to it.

This was actually the first time that a Grimaldi could be said to be entire master and lord of Monaco.

Through the protection of France they strengthened their establishment, a protection the Grimaldis well earned by their valiant services to that country.

It was very shortly after Charles had acquired his fresh, and now undisputed, claim to Monaco, that Philip of Valois, then engaged in a long, and what proved an unsuccessful, war against Edward III., of England, remembering his father, Rainier's, reputation for bravery, sent a message to Charles asking him to accept the command of a fleet. Charles at that moment, taking advantage of having nothing else to do, was venting his old bitterness against the Genoese by endeavouring again to blockade their port, but he left this to stand over, in order to accept the royal offer; and with Anthony Doria, who likewise accepted a command, they left, taking with them twenty-two well-equipped galleys, and joined the fleet then waging fierce war against the English. For the services he then rendered, but not for his victories, as he gained none, Philip VI. conferred two pensions of 1000 francs each on Grimaldi, one in perpetuity, the other for life.

During his absence from Monaco the piracy carried on by the Monacians was equalled only by the

atrocities committed in the days of the Saracens. Three of their galleys under King Robert's colours having murdered the crews belonging to some Venetian ships, next attacked several that were sent by the pope against the Turks. The Holy Father and Venice were alike highly indignant with Robert, who earnestly prayed them to believe he was ignorant and innocent of any attempt to injure them. After this the robbers changed their scene of action, and carried desolation along the coast of Catalonia. Genoa did not escape either; her ships were as good prizes as any others. Nice now cried out loudly against the brutal proceedings of the Monacians, for her vessels were compelled to pay contribution every time they passed by the port of Hercules. In vain did those in authority warn Charles's representatives: they were deaf alike to threats or remonstrances, giving evasive answers, and continuing their unlawful aggressions. A historian of that period, worthy of reliance, named Ubertus Folieta, says: 'Monaco, become the home of bankrupts and the refuge of criminals, was in 1344 like an impregnable city for its masters, from whence proceeded indefatigable pirates, ravaging the coasts of Liguria, ruining commerce, and having

mercy for none.' Her history at this period is certainly little to her credit or to those under whose rule she was left.

The Guelf and Ghibelline struggle continued uninterruptedly under the two first doges, Boccanegra and John de Murta. The people at this time were victorious; the Grimaldis who sided with the nobles were exiled, and all the nobles that chose to remain in Genoa were excluded from any participation in public affairs.

On his return to Monaco, Charles recommenced and kept up an incessant warfare against the Republic. The Genoese, at last roused to action, came to the very port of Monaco in 1345 and seized a ship. This enraged the Grimaldis still further, and they threatened to invade them in the Polcevera valley. Boccanegra, the doge, offered to make terms, but Charles distrusted him, and actually put his threat into execution. The Republic was beaten, and had to submit to the terms offered them, which resulted in the chiefs of both Guelfs and Ghibellines uniting with the doge in the administration of justice. Pardon was likewise granted to all exiles. On so ignominious a conclusion to hostilities Boccanegra resigned, and John de Murta succeeded him. The moment he was in power he re-

solved to have his revenge. Through his instrumentality an insurrection broke out, the nobles were driven from Genoa, and the Grimaldis were forced to give way at Polcevera and return to Monaco. Thus the people once more regaining power, the nobles were compelled to conclude an armistice, and then agree to a peace, which excluded the chiefs of both factions from any share in the government, and exiled the one head of each party, Grimaldi and Spinola. Thus driven back, Charles immediately commenced warlike preparations on a very large scale, with a view to regain in Genoa the position that he was forced to give up. He got ready thirty galleys and 10,000 armed men. The Genoese became alarmed, the doge and his council met, and they decided that the government should have recourse to a private loan guaranteed on the yearly income of the Republic. This was the creation of the celebrated St George bank. Twenty-nine ships and 6000 men were instantly prepared, and they resolved to resist their enemies to the uttermost; but a mandate from Philip VI. to Charles, to return to France in all haste, made him once more renounce his intended attack against the Republic.

Previous to his leaving he brought to a satisfactory conclusion a matter he had had for some time greatly

at heart, namely, the extension of his territory by the purchase from the Ventos of the castle and territory of Mentone with full and complete jurisdiction, as also their entire possessions in the territories of Ventimiglia and Roccabruna, for the sum of 16,000 golden florins. The deed was signed at Nice on the 19th April, 1346, before Bertrand Silvestre, a notary.

After thus increasing his possessions and adding to his power, Charles, accompanied by Anthony Doria, left at the head of thirty-three galleys for the coasts of France. He was not more successful in this engagement against the English than he had been on the former occasion. The fight was severe; his men were laying around him dead and dying, when he and Doria both fell dangerously wounded. On seeing this the few that survived lost all hope, and in despair they threw their arms down and hastily retreated towards the French position. The king, furious at seeing them, called out in his anger to 'Kill that rabble, unnecessarily blocking up our way.' The jealousy and consequent hatred that existed between the Genoese and French troops made the latter ready enough to carry out their master's brutal order. But in their endeavour to massacre the men who had been fighting side by side with them in the same cause, they gave the Eng-

lish a chance they did not let slip, and soon the French were entirely annihilated. Edward III. thus gained on Saturday, 26th August, 1346, the glorious victory at Crecy. One king (the King of Bohemia), ten princes, eighty bannerets, twelve hundred knights, and thirty thousand soldiers, lay slain on the field of battle.

When sufficiently recovered from his wounds, Charles Grimaldi rejoined his fleet and again tried his fortune against the English, by going to aid the people of Calais, then sorely oppressed by our king; but he was never to number among his victories one against England. Calais fell, and soon after he returned to Monaco.

Once more in his own country, he gave employment to his fleet by sending it against the Greeks and Catalans. Don Jayme II., King of Majorca, at war with Peter IV., King of Arragon, sent to request Charles to come to his aid; but Philip having conquered, Charles returned to the contest between himself and the Catalans, who were subjects of Philip IV.

Again, in 1349, a common cause united him with the Genoese. The Moors were committing terrible depredations in the Mediterranean, and John of Murta having sent a fleet to Philip's aid, who was bravely resisting them, Charles joined the Genoese expedition,

which again led to the return of the Grimaldis to Genoa. Early in January, 1350, John de Murta died, and was succeeded by John de Valenti, who removed the ban of exile from the Spinola and Grimaldi families which had been pronounced against them in 1346.

In 1353 the Genoese prepared a fleet of 60 galleys and sent them against the Venetians and Catalans, who having joined their forces, proved formidable enemies. The command was given to Anthony Grimaldi, Charles's brother, instead of Pagano Doria, who held it before; but his presumption lost all. He returned with a few disabled ships only, bearing the news of his terrible reverse. This threw Genoa into the greatest consternation, and aroused the old feeling of animosity against the Grimaldis, who were again exiled.

When Charles returned to Monaco, he turned his thoughts to extending still further his territory, and within the year he purchased from William Peter Lascaris, Count of Ventimiglia, the castle, town, and territory of Roccabruna, with all the rights attached to their possession, for 6000 golden florins.

Thus at this date for the first time we are able to recognize what we have up to a few years ago been

accustomed to regard as the principality of Monaco, namely, the three towns of Monaco, Mentone, and Roccabruna, united under one government.

Charles did much for his family and his country; but he was doomed to die with the bitter regret at his heart that all he had gained was wrenched from him, a fate he deserved far less than many of his successors. The navy of Monaco was raised by him to a rank higher than any other in the Mediterranean. His army was tolerable, the population large, and commerce flourishing. The privilege granted to him and Anthony Doria, by Philip of Valois, to have the exclusive right for two years of taking merchandise out of France, and to trade with it on all the Mediterranean coasts, greatly increased his wealth and the prosperity of the country. But all this time the dark cloud was gathering that was soon to fall and crush all his success.

Genoa, in despair at the position she found herself in after the defeat of her navy, dismissed the doge, Valenti, and offered the government of the Republic to Visconti, Archbishop of Milan, who sent William, Marquis Pallavicini, to rule in his name. This caused unity for a time to exist amongst the factious parties, and a great naval victory, gained by Pagano Doria

against the Venetians, added to their contentment; but on Visconti's death the succession passed to his nephews, and they concluded a peace with Venice, which was fatal to their own power in Genoa. Seeing the gradually growing feeling of discontent, Boccanegra, their first doge, came from Pisa, whither he had for twelve years lived in retirement, and, always adored by the people, the sight of him drove them to an open revolt against the Visconti rule. Boccanegra was soon recalled to power, drove out the Milanese, and took possession of the two Rivières, with the exception of the seigniory of Monaco, which, as of old, continued to harass Genoa. At last Boccanegra resolved to crush it, and in 1357, at the head of a considerable fleet, he went and blockaded the port. Charles, utterly unprepared to contend against such a force, and with no means of obtaining help or provisions, after bravely holding out for a month, was compelled to surrender. The Monacians were decimated by hunger and thirst. Monaco, being built on a rock, has no spring-water, and in those days the tanks that are now constructed to hold rain-water did not exist. An indemnity of 20,000 golden florins was given to Charles by the Republic on his surrendering the town.

Thus the place was again lost to the Grimaldis,

after an occupation of twenty-two years only, during which period they certainly rendered themselves independent, but terribly annoying and disquieting to the Republic. They retired to Nice, where they plotted with the inhabitants to expel the Genoese from their new conquest. Boccanegra, being warned, compelled the authorities to seek out the conspirators, and threatened Queen Jane of Naples with war if his orders were not carried out. Genoa, being at that moment in a position that rendered her capable of fulfilling her threat, was listened to, and the Seneschal of Provence commenced proceedings against the Grimaldis and their adherents. This conspiracy was much exaggerated, and caused hostilities between the queen's subjects and the Genoese, which did not terminate till the doge's death in 1358, when peace was concluded at Mentone on the 5th of September, in the Church of St Michael, in the presence of the principal members of the Grimaldi family and other notables. In the same year Charles died at Mentone, whither he had retired, leaving six children by his marriage with Luchinette, daughter of Gerard Spinola.

CHAPTER IV.

RAINIER GRIMALDI.

RAINIER, Charles's eldest son and successor, had till the year 1358 been engaged in the service of France, where he continued to keep up his reputation for bravery and valour. On his return to his own country, Jane I., Queen of Naples, desiring to secure his assistance (in case of need) to herself, created him Seneschal of Coni, Stura, Demont, and Nice, which places since the time of Charles I. of Anjou had formed a portion of Provence. It was not long before Rainier's fidelity to his new mistress was tested, Amadeus VI., Count of Savoy, always desirous of obtaining these places, which intercepted his communication with the sea, thought a more favourable time could not present itself than the troubled reign of poor ill-fated Jane. Rainier proved true enough, but troops failed him; he had no forces to compete with those brought by Amadeus, and consequently the Count of Savoy took possession of the long-coveted

positions. The queen, grieved at the victories which had wrested her territories from her, convoked the States of Provence, and demanded funds to enable her, by raising an army powerful enough to crush her enemy, to win back her lost provinces. They instantly voted the money required, the necessary forces were prepared, Rainier took the command, and in a few months drove Amadeus out of all his freshly-gained victories. The Duke of Milan for a moment seemed disposed to try his luck by following Amadeus' steps, but Rainier seemed too well prepared, so he gave up the attempt. The money granted by the States having been swallowed up before the war was at an end, Rainier advanced 12,000 golden florins, to enable its being carried on till victory was complete and secure. In the archives of the Palace of Monaco it is stated that the Queen of Naples, on the 27th of March, 1363, ordered her treasurer to repay the money lent by Rainier; but, according to Bouche and Nostradamus, Jane conferred on him Tourette, Vence, and Boison, in recompense of his services.

It was not long before a trifling circumstance led to his taking up arms once more in the queen's service. In 1364 the Emperor Charles put forth his claims to the kingdom of Arles; he went there, and

after being crowned king, ascended the Rhône, and stopped at Villeneuve-les-Avignon, where Lewis of Anjou entertained him with great splendour. At the conclusion of a magnificent feast given in his honour, the newly-crowned king ceded his rights over Arles (the true value of which he clearly knew how far to appreciate) to his host, as a return for his hospitality. Little worth as this gift was, it served to give birth to wild hopes in Lewis of Anjou's breast.

Provence being divided from Naples by great distance, Lewis thought that it must eventually become separate from the kingdom altogether; he therefore indulged in the idea that he might appropriate the State to himself, and join it to Languedoc, where his father, King John, was governor.

Circumstances seemed to favour his wishes, for just at that time Duguesclin was passing through Languedoc on his return to Spain, with a band of soldiers, all mere adventurers, ready to sell themselves for any cause to the highest bidder, their mission then being to win the throne of Castile for Henry of Transtamare. Lewis, however, had no difficulty in getting them to change their intentions; and having accepted his service, they carried out his orders by first attack-

ing the Castle of Tarascon, which through treachery almost immediately surrendered. From there they marched to Arles. Then it was that Rainier, called by Queen Jane to go and rescue her possessions from the peril they appeared to be in, instantly responded, and at the head of twenty well-equipped galleys went up the Rhône, joined his forces with the gallant troop under the command of Raymond d'Agoult, and together they succeeded in saving the town.

Still Lewis could not quietly resign his newly-born hopes without one more attempt at fulfilling them. It was useless, he saw, to attempt force, so he tried fair words. He endeavoured to win the Arlèsiens to him by bribery, and the immense offers he made Rainier, if he would take up arms under him, were such, that nothing save his staunch fidelity to Queen Jane could have enabled him to withstand. Rank, wealth, and, above all, power, were sturdily refused, though he did say that he would be willing to listen to him on the conclusion of hostilities, as, besides the tremendous offers that were made, Rainier had fought too long with and for France not to have his heart in their cause. Finding it useless to contend longer against fate, Lewis retired, resigning

Tarascon, his only conquest, which Rainier at once took back. The queen sent her gallant ally 4000 golden francs in token of her gratitude.

On the termination of war Lewis showed his generous nature and his power of appreciating bravery and fidelity by asking his brother, Charles V. of France, to confer on his late rival, Rainier, the title and office which, at the price of treachery, he had so firmly refused; hence in 1369 Rainier was created an admiral of France and commander of the king's Mediterranean fleets on the Languedoc coast, and for ten galleys which he was bound to maintain, he was to receive 1600 francs. On the 10th of February, 1370, Charles V. conferred on him a pension of 1500 francs for his good and loyal services to France by sea and land. Notwithstanding this, Rainier still watched over Queen Jane's interests, nor was he entirely forgetful of his own at Mentone, Roccabruna, and Castiglione, to which places his territory for the present was confined.

With nothing at this period of any great moment to employ him, his attention was drawn to the schism which, on the death of Gregory XI., arose in the Church. Two popes claimed to be the rightful successors of St Peter. Urban VI. held his footing

as such at Rome, and Clement VII. took as equally firm a stand at Avignon; from which places they kept up a furious war, temporal and spiritual. They launched anathemas and bulls against each other, besides excommunicating one another. Urban VI. was considered by the majority to be the legitimate pope, having been elected by the cardinals and according to the canonical laws, but his weakness lay in having offended the cardinals, who therefore gave their support to his rival. France, Spain, and Naples were the only Catholic countries against him, but they giving the preference to Clement VII. enabled that pontiff to maintain his claims to the Papal chair. These 'rogues' and 'anti-Christs,' as they mutually styled each other, found their supremacy was more likely to be confirmed and settled through powder and shot than by cursing and swearing. The rebel cardinals were about leaving Rome, with all the treasure they could amass, to join Clement at Avignon. Urban, who did his best to cut off their passage by land, made most seductive offers to Rainier to waylay them by sea. This he did, and succeeded not alone in seizing their property, but their persons likewise. He conducted them prisoners to Mentone, and returned the Church property he had taken, such as the

gold and silver vases, books, and relics (amongst them was Moses' rod), and other pontifical ornaments belonging to the Apostolic chamber, and which the Archbishop of Milan had taken to use for the consecration of Clement. The other treasure he was permitted to keep in return for the service he had rendered.

But Rainier now found that Urban VI. was lending his support to one Charles de Duras, who was trying to wrest the crown of Naples from Queen Jane I. This led to his withdrawing from the Roman Pope's side, and passing over to the Avignon Pope, who was a friend of the queen's. Urban having excommunicated Jane, Rainier began to harass and annoy him in all possible ways, and his efforts were attended with great success. This change of Rainier's policy, together with Clement VII.'s necessities, was the cause of benefit to some distant branches of his family.

In 1379 George del Caretto, Marquis of Savona, having acquired a share in the seigniorial rights over Mentone from Rainier, three years later ceded them to Mark and Luke, the two sons of Anthony, brother of Charles I. Soon after Luke was created Admiral of Provence by Queen Jane, and Mark was made a captain-general by Charles V. These two lucrative

appointments enabled the brothers to acquire the seigniories of Villeneuve and Cagnes, in Provence, which Queen Jane approved of by letters-patent. She was always ready to confer or confirm any dignity on a Grimaldi, out of regard to their head, Rainier. In 1383 Clement VII. took from the Bishop of Grasse, Antibes, with the apology that it required to be under his own control; but almost immediately after, that necessity seemed to give way to one more urgent, he stood sorely in need of money, and therefore he agreed to give it to Mark and Luke Grimaldi for 9000 florins; the pope eased his conscience by arguing that it was to a Grimaldi he sold it. Luke soon died, leaving Mark alone to enjoy his possessions. The Grimaldis retained Antibes till 1608, when Henry IV. of France bought it for 250,000 florins. Time had increased its value. M. du Vair, president of the Aix parliament, took possession of it in the king's name.

On the 22nd of May, 1382, all the troubles of poor Queen Jane were brought to a close. She died from strangulation, which death she underwent by the orders of Charles de Duras. On the 13th of June in the same year Lewis of Anjou, who fourteen years previously had vainly attempted to wrest Provence

from her, and who in 1380 had been adopted by her as her heir and successor, he being her nearest living relative, entered Italy with a flourishing army, and Rainier in command, to dispute with Charles the crown he had gained by murder. Rainier won battle after battle, but could never win a decisive victory, owing to Sir John Hawkwood, the famous English soldier, who had joined Duras' cause. He kept incessantly worrying Rainier's troops, without doing any actual harm, but he prevented them doing any great good. Thus many months were lost by Lewis uselessly pursuing his rival; they were able to keep nothing they won, and the country was nearly ruined, for as Charles moved onwards, pursued by Rainier, he destroyed all the crops, in order to subdue the French army by famine, being unable to do so by the sword; and in this he would probably have succeeded had it not been for Rainier's forethought in having provisions on board his galleys. But at length sickness put an end to this warfare; disease nearly decimated the French army. On the 10th of October, 1384, Lewis himself fell a victim. Before his death he conferred on his friend and ally several islands and the fief lands held by Leonardo Ereto, which had been confiscated on account of his treason against the queen.

However, as Charles de Duras held the reins of government in his hands, Lewis' gifts were of little worth. For upwards of a century the House of Anjou endeavoured to conquer the kingdom of Naples, but it was gone from them. Others, too, of their possessions were slipping from their grasp through bribery and treachery; Nice and its territory amongst other places was wrested from them.

A Count de Bueil, a distant branch of the House of Grimaldi, was the principal mover in the events which led to Nice passing to Amadeus VII., Count of Savoy. Lewis II. was occupied with all his available forces in contesting with Ladislaus, Duras' successor, his possession of Naples; thus Nice was left, with Bueil as seneschal, perfectly unprotected. Bueil, in consideration of a handsome pension and the hereditary governorship of Nice, betrayed his trust, and handed the place over to Amadeus. The Nizzards, utterly helpless, were incapable even of making a show of resistance, and so passively received their new master. John Grimaldi, Count de Bueil, was an adventurous and courageous soldier, and one not likely to rest in peace if the possibility presented itself to his mind of increasing his wealth or power; therefore when he found himself in such close prox-

imity to Monaco, that convenient and much-coveted little fortress, it was no wonder he entertained the idea of getting possession of it. He induced Amadeus to attempt the enterprise. But Genoa was very watchful and careful over the rock; they kept a good garrison in it, and, moreover, through mild government, and granting them many privileges they had hitherto not enjoyed, they won the inhabitants over to desire their maintenance of rule. However, Genoa's internal dissensions, which so often proved fatal to her interests, once more, in 1395, burst out, and drew her attention off from her distant possessions. Baron de Bueil, who was eagerly on the watch, seeing the opportune moment arrive, seized it, and through the secret understanding he held with some of the inhabitants, the place fell into his hands without a shot being fired.

The eternal squabbles at home and the menaces of enemies from abroad made Genoa resolve to offer France the governorship of the Republic. Charles VI. accepted it, and he sent his commissioners to Genoa, where, on the 15th of October, 1396, they signed the conditions together with those appointed by the Genoese to represent themselves. Adorne was the first governor appointed in the king's name, but

matters did not flourish under him. Charles then sent Valeran of Luxembourg, Count of St Pol, to replace Adorne, who thankfully gave up his ungracious office. He died very shortly after of the plague.

During Adorne's dominion John de Bueil, together with his brother Lewis, made an attempt to take Ventimiglia, but he failed, and was taken prisoner to Genoa. The first act of the Count de St Pol after his installation was to give him back his liberty. At the same time he appointed Rainier governor of Ventimiglia; as he had received especial commands from the king to do all things needful for Rainier Grimaldi, on account of his services to France. Baron de Bueil, who returned to Monaco on obtaining his release, was somewhat uncomfortable at this near neighbourship of one who had certainly prior claims and better ones than his own to Monaco. This discomfort merged into alarm when he found warlike preparations were being actively carried on by his rival cousin. Bueil obtained money from Nice, with which he rendered Monaco as impregnable as fortifications would make it. In the mean while St Pol's rule seemed not to succeed much better than his predecessor's; he was unequal to quell the everlasting quarrels between the two factious parties of Guelfs and Ghibellines. France

therefore determined to send a man capable of mastering so unruly a set. Marshal Boucicaut was the one chosen, than which a fitter could not have been named. He arrived in Genoa in 1401, and with a firm, just, but severe hand, he crushed out the insurrection, and established order through intimidation, the only system that had never been attempted and that had not failed. It is related of the brave Marshal by Genoese historians, who thought to do him honour, that he hated women, and never missed hearing two masses a day.

Nothing that was cowardly or dishonourable could be endured by Boucicaut. Now it so happened that Baron de Bueil had during his possession of Monaco encouraged piracy to such an extent, that it at length reached the ears and was brought before the notice of the Marshal. In a moment his anger was aroused; he gave immediate orders to get ready troops, and without allowing any warning to reach Bueil of his intentions, he advanced rapidly towards Monaco, which was besieged without resistance, all the inhabitants being completely surprised, and Boucicaut threatening to shoot down with his own hand any that dared resist his authority.

Rainier's claims on France, and the king's com-

mendation to his predecessor, were not forgotten by Boucicaut; he therefore gave Monaco back to him, whether as seignior, which he undoubtedly was entitled to, or whether merely as governor in the name of the Republic, appears uncertain; Gioffredo seems inclined to think the latter. Any way, it is clear the right Grimaldi again became possessor of the place after its having for 38 years been in other hands. Little after this event is heard of Rainier, except his receiving and entertaining Benedict XIII., the Avignon pope, at the Palace of Monaco, when on his way to Italy, to pay a political visit, and accompanied by Marshal Boucicaut, who escorted him from Nice to Savona. The greatest honours were paid to this pontiff, and the keys of the town presented to him. On his return to France he again landed at Monaco, but he was driven out of it by the plague, which broke out and made fearful ravages along the Rivièra.

Rainier Grimaldi, a gallant warrior and faithful friend, died in 1407, leaving behind him five children by his marriage with Isabella Asenaria.

His eldest son, Ambrose, succeeded him. His career was neither long nor eventful. The only matter worth recording that happened during his life was the beginning of that famous quarrel which lasted

for 300 years between the dukes of Savoy and the seigniors of Monaco, on the question of limit. Amadeus VIII. commenced it by claiming from Ambrose Grimaldi a portion of territory on the Turbia side of Monaco. Ambrose was unfortunately drowned at sea, in 1424, when out on a fishing excursion.

CHAPTER V.

JOHN—CATALAN—LAMBERT.

In 1409 the Genoese again removed themselves from under French dominion, and the Guelfs and Ghibellines, like wild beasts without their keepers to restrain them, once more began their quarrels, and with more bitterness from the temporary lull they had enjoyed. These feuds led to Milanese rule being re-established in the year 1421. The first governor sent there by Philip Visconti, Duke of Milan, was the celebrated General Carmagnola.

Francis Carmagnola, born of humble parents in the village from whence he took his name, enlisted very early in life into the troop of Facino Cane, a renowned condottiere then in the service of the Viscontis. On Facino's death Philip made Carmagnola commander-in-chief, as a reward for his bravery and services. It was he who was chiefly instrumental in placing Philip on the ducal throne of Milan, besides adding considerably to his dominions. Philip then

created him Count of Castelnuovo, and gave him Antoinette Visconti, a near relative of his own, in marriage, and then appointed hin Governor of Genoa.

In 1324 Philip, who was of a dark, suspicious nature, listened to rumours which were raised through jealousy against Carmagnola, and immediately ordered him to be deprived of all military command, upon which he at once repaired to Milan, to remonstrate with the Duke. Philip refused to see him. Then Carmagnola left the Milanese territory and repaired to Venice, where Philip sent an assassin to murder him, but the plot failed.

Carmagnola was succeeded as governor of Genoa by Bartholoméo della Capra, Archbishop of Milan, under whose rule there was momentary peace. John Grimaldi, who had been in the service of Genoa before taking possession of his inheritance, and had distinguished himself when fighting against Alphonso V., King of Arragon, in their cause, was content to embrace Visconti's side, even at the expense of Monaco, which Capra suggested would be better off by being under the same government as the Republic, instead of being under the dominion of a Grimaldi. The place was therefore ceded to him, whilst the co-seigniors of Mentone and Roccabruna equally swore

fidelity to their new master. This act of submission was signed at Campo-Rosso, and in consideration of it they received an annual pension of 200 florins, whilst John was created an admiral, and many privileges granted him, together with the opportunity of distinguishing himself in active service.

In 1426 war was declared by the Venetian State against the Duke of Milan. In the early part of the same year Venice appointed Carmagnola her captain-general. The duke's troops were defeated, and Brescia wrested from him. In 1428 peace was signed, but it was not to last long; war broke out afresh in 1431, and Carmagnola, who still held command of the Venetian army, sustained a heavy loss. Shortly after this defeat, in July, 1431, the duke's flotilla on the Po, under the command of John Grimaldi, defeated, with a frightful slaughter, that of Venice, within sight of Carmagnola's camp, who, through a misunderstanding, was not in time to support them.

Whilst poor Carmagnola was unjustly and cruelly put to death * for a defeat he was in no way respons-

* The Venetian senators, suspecting Carmagnola of treachery, resolved to deprive him of his command, but fearing to do so when he was surrounded by his troops, by whom he was greatly beloved, he received orders to repair to Venice, that they might consult him,

ible, John Grimaldi having thoroughly fulfilled the Duke of Milan's expectations of his abilities as a commander, returned to Genoa covered with glory. He was received with the greatest splendour and magnificence, and every demonstration of joy. Thomas Frégose, Doge of Genoa, gave him his sister Pommeline in marriage, and the ceremony was celebrated with great pomp and rejoicings.

Visconti, in 1446, gave back to John the investiture of Monaco, of which he had deprived himself in favour of the duke, 'on conditions that John recognized him as his seignior, and declared himself his faithful vassal.'

The Dukes of Savoy were keeping up the annoyances they before raised in reference to the territorial limits of Monaco at Turbia, and as John's troops permitted no encroachments to be made on their master's possessions, the Duke of Savoy appealed to the

they said, as to the terms on which peace was to be concluded with the duke. On his arrival he was received with every mark of distinction, and conducted to the palace. Being introduced into the Hall of the Council of Ten, he was at once charged with treason, arrested, conveyed to the prison close at hand, examined secretly, put to the torture, and condemned to death. On the 5th of May, 1432, he was led into the Square of St Mark, and there beheaded; and all his property confiscated to the State. As to Carmagnola's guilt, there may possibly be two opinions, but as to the guilt of the Venetian senators there can be but one.

Duke of Milan to support his demand, that at any rate, the fortress of Turbia should be destroyed. Visconti replied that it might be advisable to put an end to the exactions of the Monacians over Turbia, but he could not consent to the destruction of the place.

John Grimaldi seeing that matters were likely to take such a turn that if he did not come to some settlement of them he would most likely between the two dukes go to the wall, and the expulsion of the Milanese from Genoa at this time having given him back his independence and freedom, he consented to recognize the Duke of Savoy as suzerain over Mentone and Roccabruna, provided that the succession in perpetuity was secured to him and his issue, male and female. On the 19th of December, 1848, a double deed was drawn up and signed in the palace at Turin, in the presence of Lancelot de Lusignan, Cardinal of Cyprus; Lewis, Marquis de Romagnan, Bishop of Turin, and other great personages; by which it was stipulated that John Grimaldi should pay homage to Lewis of Savoy, and enfeoff the half of Mentone (the other half being in the hands of his cousin) and the whole of Roccabruna in favour of the duke, and that the duke should give the investiture to John

and his heirs, male and female, for ever.* John retained Monaco and entire dominion over it, which he considered perfectly safe, especially on the Mentone side, where he concentrated all his forces.

This new allegiance to the House of Savoy did not prevent John proffering his services to Charles VII. of France. The king thought very highly of him, and had in consequence conferred on him the same charge over his fleet in the Mediterranean he had given his father Rainier, and in a letter addressed by Peter de Trougnon to the governor and syndics of Nice, dated 1453, we read: 'Also the king has commanded me to notify to you, that he has taken and retained the Seignior of Monègue as his officer and special servitor, and that in all his affairs you will give him support, and help as much as if for himself.'

He also stood high in the estimation of the princes of Anjou; for in the same year René, titular King of Naples, and his son John, Duke of Calabria, wrote to him thanking him for his devotion and services, and promising him their support, should he ever at any time stand in need of it. John Grimaldi

* This deed led to many sorry difficulties later.

was chamberlain and councillor to René, Duke of Anjou.

The last years of his life were devoted to his duties as admiral of the French fleets in the Mediterranean, and to frequent encounters with the Catalans, from whom he levied a tribute of two per cent. on the value of the cargoes of every ship passing Monaco, and which all commercial vessels were subject to. It was their endeavouring to evade this payment that led to John taking measures to force it from them. This sea-tax was somewhat similar to that levied on land by the feudal lords of France, Italy, and Germany, against travellers and merchants passing through their dominions, and which contributed not a little to their revenue. John, however, had another right for claiming a tax from all vessels crossing his seas. He maintained armed galleys for the defence of the Ligurian coast against the pirates, which otherwise committed terrible depredations.

John died on the 8th of May, 1454. He made a will by which, in default of male issue, he left the power of hereditary succession in the female line; but in that case the heiress was bound to marry a member of the House of Grimaldi.

A son and two daughters survived him. Bartholomea, the youngest daughter, married the celebrated Doge of Genoa, Peter Frégose, who in 1464 immortalized herself by her defence of the palace when it was besieged by the Duke of Milan.

Catalan succeeded his father, and received from Lewis I., Duke of Savoy, the investiture of the six parts of Mentone, and the whole of Roccabruna, enfeoffed by his father John; and on the 23rd of July, 1454, the duke appointed him his equerry, and created him commander of maritime affairs. Catalan tried to escape taking the oaths of fidelity and allegiance to the House of Savoy, but the Governor of Nice compelled him to do so. His reign was short, lasting only three years, during which time he had several successful encounters with the Catalans. He died in 1457, leaving by his union with Blanche del Caretto-Final one child, named Claudine, a girl of 12 years old. He left instructions in his will that she was to marry a Grimaldi, according to the desires of her grandfather, and he named Lambert, second son of Nicholas Grimaldi, his cousin, Seignior of Antibes, as her future husband. Catalan had two sons, but they both died in infancy.

Claudine was thought too young to marry im-

mediately on her father's death, and consequently hopes were entertained by others besides Lambert of obtaining the hand of the young heiress. The principal and most active of these was James Grimaldi, Baron of Bueil, who thought by winning Claudine's affections he might be able to combat Lambert's claim to her; and in order to put himself into a position to do this, he endeavoured to take possession of Monaco; the attractions of which were as great to him as they had been to John de Bueil in 1395, and which perhaps were far beyond any the young Claudine possessed. But all his plans were frustrated by Lambert, who kept too careful a watch over his promised prize to let it be snatched from him; and when he had let James Grimaldi understand this, to prevent further contingencies he made Claudine his wife, notwithstanding her youth. He was therefore now, in right of his wife, Seignior of Monaco, absolutely and entirely, together with Roccabruna and the half of Mentone, which two places he held as fiefs under the House of Savoy; but having lands of his own, held in tenure from the Counts of Provence, and fearing difficulties might arise from this circumstance, he sought protection from the House of Anjou, which had ever proved friendly to the Grimaldi interests. Though Claudine

was the actual successor to her father's states, according to his will, Lambert possessed all power, her own being purely nominal, and during his life we hear nothing of her at all.

Genoa, which was always in a state of revolt, or so weakened and reduced by it that an involuntary peace was forced on it, was at this period in the latter position. So incapable was it rendered of taking any steps for its own welfare, that it was compelled to seek from other powers what of itself it was unable to obtain. In this state of helplessness it fell back on France; and a treaty was concluded in February, 1458, between the king, Charles VIII. and the doge, Peter Frégose, by which the government was passed over to the king, but Genoa was to retain all the privileges of a free town.

On the 11th of May, 1458, John, Duke of Calabria and Lorraine, René of Anjou's eldest son, being appointed governor by the king, arrived at Genoa with a fleet of ten galleys. Thus hedged in by the princes of Anjou, René, possessing amongst other domains in France, the whole of Provence, Lambert's policy, independently of his inclination, led him to attach himself to their House and to secure their friendship by way of saving himself from their enmity. Therefore, he

lost no time in seeking to obtain René's promise of taking him under his protection. The duke willingly consented; and he was glad thus to have the opportunity of proving his appreciation of the Grimaldis' service to the House of Anjou. He at once communicated the arrangement to his son John, Governor of Genoa, who, on receiving the intelligence, immediately levied a troop of 50 men, from the towns of Porto-Maurizio, de Taggia, and San-Rémo, at the expense of the commune of Genoa, and sent them on the 13th of April, 1459, to Monaco. Besides this, King René allowed him the tax raised on salt in the town of Grasse, which privilege Catalan had also during his life enjoyed. Lambert, on his part, in return for these grants, undertook never to support, as Seignior of Monaco, the King of Arragon's cause, or that of the Duke of Savoy, nor allow their ships to enter his port.

Still there was no change in the relations between Lambert and the Duke of Savoy in consequence of this new agreement; the duke still held his power over Roccabruna and the half of Mentone, of which Claudine, just prior to her marriage, received the investiture. Peace might have been enjoyed now but for Genoa, who never had it itself or allowed it to others.

Again was the Republic in a state of revolt. The Milanese were trying to destroy the French government and take power into their own hands.

Philip Visconti, Duke of Milan, had a daughter who became the wife of Francis Sforza, the son of, and himself a famous condottiere. On Philip's death this Sforza claimed to be the heir in right of his wife to the ducal throne of Milan, and consequently to be the Seignior of Genoa. Having succeeded in being acknowledged at Milan, he immediately set to work with Frégose to help him to undermine the French dominion, and cause himself to be elected in the duke of Calabria's place. Unfortunately at this moment the governor was absent from Genoa, being engaged in an expedition against the kingdom of Naples; thus Sforza's success was rapid; the French were turned out, and Paul Frégose re-elected doge. Genoa was too troublesome and unruly an appendage to his crown for Lewis XI., who had succeeded Charles, to care much about it; and the King of France, whose rights rested on the treaties of 1458, ceded them to Francis Sforza on condition that he held Genoa as a fief in tenure from the crown of France. Paul Frégose, whom Sforza had merely made a tool of, and whose only supporters were amongst the people, was very

soon put out of the way. The entire nobility sided with the Duke of Milan, and so he was elected, without hindrance, Seignior of Genoa.

Lambert Grimaldi, sharing the feelings of his family, took up the Milanese cause, and when, in 1464, Sforza went on his expedition along the littoral which ended in his conquest of the whole of the western Rivièra, Lambert put his galleys at his disposal. In the same year, as a reward for his services, he was made Governor of Ventimiglia. But when Sforza died, and Galéas, his son, succeeded him, and the Genoese again rose up in revolt, Lambert seized the opportunity of rendering himself independent of the Republic, and caused himself to be elected by the inhabitants as Seignior of Monaco and Ventimiglia. They took the oaths of fidelity and allegiance to their master very willingly, and he, blinded by success, tried another step in advance of freedom by attempting to liberate Mentone and Roccabruna by rendering the oaths he took in 1458 to the Duke of Savoy null and void. But here Lambert overshot his mark, for by thus provoking Amadeus IX. he caused him, on Galéas' appealing to him, at once to become his ally. For though Galéas was sufficiently engaged by endeavouring to quell the insurrection immediately around him, he had

his eyes open enough to see what Lambert was doing, and on his appealing for aid from the Duke of Savoy, the latter at once sent orders to Count d'Entremont, his governor at Nice, to insist on Lambert laying down arms at once and returning to his former allegiance. This Lambert stoutly refused to do, and by this obstinacy he lost his best possession, Monaco; for, on finding Lambert was not to be subdued by threats, he besieged the place. For two long months did Grimaldi hold out, supported only by the hope that René would send him assistance, he did not know that he was himself engaged in the sorry task of trying to win what he was never to wear, the crown of Naples; besides being engaged in a war with the King of Arragon and his son John, carrying on war in Catalonia, and thus both were incapable of affording the help they would otherwise have granted.

On the 3rd of April, 1466, Lambert capitulated. Thus Monaco and Ventimiglia were wrested from him, and he was forced to go to Nice and there renew the oaths of allegiance for Roccabruna and the half of Mentone; which places however took upon themselves to follow his example, and revolt against his own authority, instigated by Pommeline Frégose, the widow of John I. and Claudine's grandmother.

It seems that she was anxious to have obtained the guardianship of the child on her father's death, and that she became considerably irritated by Lambert marrying her so soon, and through anger and jealousy endeavoured all she could to separate the young wife from her husband's authority. By John's will his widow was permitted to reside at Mentone during the remainder of her life; and finding her influence over Claudine as nothing, she endeavoured to set her subjects against Lambert, and, woman-wise, chose the untoward moment when he was incapacitated through the siege raised against Monaco, which he was defending with might and main, to induce them to revolt and break the bonds that bound them to their seignior. On the 5th of March, 1466, the two towns sent deputies to Amadeus IX., requesting him to take Roccabruna and Mentone under his rule, and receive the inhabitants as his subjects. But their request was met in a very different spirit to what they expected; the Duke of Savoy, as soon as Monaco was in his hands, and matters had partially quieted down, caused a full inquiry to be made as to the reason of this step; and on ascertaining the truth, Amadeus not alone refused to have anything to do with them, but sent James, Count of Montebello, and Count d'Entremont

to put an end to the rebellion, and force both towns to submit to their rightful master. The people were somewhat astonished and alarmed at the phase of affairs, so different to that they had been led to expect; and without great deliberation came to the conclusion that they had best resign themselves to what they could not avoid, and so with a good grace they made their peace with Lambert, and, in presence of the duke's emmissaries, they took the oaths of allegiance to him; then Lambert again had to renew his oaths to the duke for the two towns, which through his instrumentality had been brought to submission. That Amadeus bore Grimaldi no ill-will is not alone proved by the part he played in this matter, but also by his subsequently appointing him captain-general of his naval forces in the western Rivièra.

Lambert now began to devote himself to the care and improvement of his little state, trying to re-do what the tumults of war had undone. Peace, that for a short time blessed these shores, enabled him to pass a few years without all his revenues being swallowed up by the expenses attendant on warfare; and in 1477 he found himself in a position to purchase the five-sixths of the remaining position of Mentone,

which hitherto belonged to his relatives, Honoré and Luke Grimaldi. (See Appendix B.)

On the 18th of April, 1481, Charles III. of Anjou appointed Lambert chamberlain and councillor to the crown.

The state of affairs in Genoa at this period led Lambert to be somewhat uneasy. The Milanese had been driven away, and Paul Frégose elected doge. The famous Council of Ten had been recently instituted, for the purpose of suppressing the feuds amongst the partisans of Frégose, who had himself so aroused the indignation of the Genoese by his tyranny that orders were given to arrest his son. Paul, furious, caused one of the decemviri, Angelo Grimaldi, to be assassinated, which crime very naturally increased the exasperation of the aristocratic party. Frégose now feeling his tenure of office must be short, and that he was not likely to retain power much longer, sent to Ludovic Sforza, then Regent of Milan, and offered to cede him the government of the Republic on the same terms it had before so often concluded with the Milanese. At the same time the Fieschis and Grimaldis made a similar offer to Charles VIII., King of France, then a minor; but Ludovic was quicker and

nearer at hand, and before Charles could act Ludovic had taken possession; this was in September, 1488. The anti-Milanese party, fearing Sforza's resentment, fled to Monaco, to be out of harm's way.

At the death of Charles of Anjou, Provence, together with the claims of the House of Anjou to the kingdom of Naples, passed to Lewis XI. of France. Lewis dying in 1483, was succeeded by Charles VIII., then a boy of 13. To the young king therefore Lambert now addressed himself; recalling to his memory what devotion and fidelity the Grimaldis had ever shown to France, and praying that the protection which had been granted him by the House of Anjou, which protection as heir to the states had passed to the crown of France, might be continued. Charles VIII. at once granted Lambert's request, and on the 23rd of October, 1488, gave letters of protection for himself, his family, servants, subjects, property, lands, and all other possessions. At the same time he caused it to be made known to the Duke of Milan that Grimaldi, and all belonging to him, was protected by the crown of France, and that an offence against him would be an offence against the king.

Sforza knew too well how to protect his own in-

terests to attempt going counter to this warning; and the better still to serve his purposes, and render his position in Genoa more secure, he wrote to the king, admitting that Charles had himself a claim over the Republic, not alone by the offer made to him by the opposition party at the time of his taking the government himself, but also by the treaties of 1458 with Genoa, and of 1463 with Francis Sforza; and he now proposed to hold Genoa as Francis Sforza had done, as a fief dependent on the crown of France. Charles accepted and gave him the investiture in 1490. With this arrangement Lambert was well content, and was able once more to relapse into a state of tolerable tranquillity. On the 21st of December, 1489, he purchased for 5000 golden dollars the twelfth and last remaining portion of Mentone over which he had not jurisdiction, but he did not enfeoff this part with the seigniory of Mentone. Thus under Lambert were united once more all the rights that the Grimaldis had acquired over Mentone in 1346, rights which had been sub-divided in that family from the death of Charles I.

Four years later Lambert died, and though Claudine was supposed to possess the power of retaining

the government in her own hands, she was thought, or thought herself, to be too old and infirm; and she invested her eldest son, John, with the government. A steady head and firm hand were in truth required at this period to guide the current of affairs.

CHAPTER VI.

JOHN II.—LUCIEN.

Whilst Lewis XI. reigned over France, the country had been forced to remain peaceful; he had had no intention of making war for an idea; but a few years after his death Charles, young, impetuous, and brought up in a school of romance, resolved upon carrying out the wild dreams he had indulged in of performing some deed that would excite the admiration of the world, call forth the applause of the noble and the great, and make him a hero in the eyes of beautiful women. And so he resolved to make war, and nothing seemed more tempting than the lovely kingdom of Naples, to which he laid claim, as heir to the House of Anjou; this would be the sort of romantic war he had indulged in dreams of, and he entered into it with all the wild impetuosity of his age and disposition. It was, in truth, as all about him saw, fighting for an idea, but he could not be turned from it.

A naval expedition was prepared at Marseilles, which John II. of Monaco brought under his command to join the squadron lying ready off Villafranca. John fought gallantly in the ranks of the French fleet at the same time that the Duke of Orleans, afterwards Lewis XII., destroyed at Rapallo the army of Ferdinand of Naples. He also followed the young king in his triumphal entry into Naples; but his conquests, rapid as they were, were more rapidly lost. Charles was compelled to make a precipitate retreat. At last he reached in safety Verceil, a country that espoused his cause, and in that place negotiations for peace were entered on. It was in the camp here that the king, bethinking himself of recompensing John's services, appointed him maritime inspector-general of the western Rivièra, in the place of his father, Lambert. When peace was concluded, Charles granted to the inhabitants of Monaco, Mentone, and Roccabruna, license to traffic and sell in Provence, with the same privileges and liberties which were enjoyed by the French, 'in consideration of the fidelity with which some of the inhabitants of the towns, under the command of John, their seignior, had served in the war of the kingdom of Naples.' And on the 4th of November, 1495, the king wrote to his governor in Provence, re-

minding him that John Grimaldi was under the protection of the crown of France, and that, consequently, he was, if called on, to defend him against the Genoese and all other enemies; as the loss of the fortress of Monaco would be a loss to the kingdom and to Provence.

Three years after this Charles died, and on the 7th of April, 1498, Lewis of Orleans ascended the throne; in the July following, on the 10th of the month, the new king confirmed John in his double capacity of councillor and chamberlain. Nor did he forget to bear in mind how the Monacian vessels distinguished themselves at Rapallo, or how very conveniently Monaco was situated, and that for three centuries her inhabitants had been devoted to France. A little time after the king addressed fresh letters of protection to the House of Grimaldi, renewing the assurance given by Charles VIII. in their favour.

Though John took no part in the war against the Milanese in 1499, and which resulted in Lewis XII. gaining Genoa, though not for long, he took a distinguished part in the new expedition against Naples, and with the portion of the booty allotted him, he, in 1504, built the castle of Mentone, the ruins of which are still standing.

Lewis undertook the war against the Milanese, as himself heir to the Visconti, and treated Ludovic Sforza as a mere usurper. Having defeated them, and taken possession of the duchy, he claimed all rights attached to the suzerainty, amongst them were those over the portions of Mentone, bought by Lambert in 1477, and which he had enfeoffed in favour of the Duke of Savoy, but which, when belonging to his cousins, had paid homage since 1428 to the Duke of Milan. Thus the King of France, now become likewise Duke of Milan and Seignior of Genoa, had, as such, the right to claim the homage that John II. only rendered to the Duke of Savoy, and this double claim of two suzerains over the same land was likely to lead to a complication of difficulties.

In this uneasy position John wisely resolved to lay the whole case before the king, and to appeal to him to relieve him of the homage, which, as Duke of Milan, he was bound to make him, and to grant him an entire remission of all claim over the five-twelfths of Mentone that he had acquired from his cousins. Lewis XII., then at Blois, immediately wrote, granting his requests, and by letters-patent, dated 23rd of January, 1501, 'enjoined and commanded all whom it might concern to remit to John Grimaldi, *seigneur de*

Monègue, all charges, fines, or punishments to which, for causes elsewhere explained, he might be exposed by the duchy of Milan,' and that this was done out of regard to 'the great, noble, and praiseworthy services rendered by him to the crown of France.'

In 1502 Lewis XII. paid a visit to Genoa, which town gave him a gorgeous and splendid reception. At the moment of his approach the great bell of the town rang, which was the signal for all holding authority, the nobles and leading people, to go forth and meet him. Amongst these was John Grimaldi, with 25 other gentlemen, all dressed alike in long robes of grey damask. The dresses of the nobles, though magnificent in the extreme, formed a marvellous contrast to the ladies; who were all ranged in the balconies of their houses, thus making an avenue of beauty for the king to pass through. The former wore their robes ample and long, whilst the latter are described as being dressed chiefly in white silk or fine cambric, which they wore so short that they did not come lower than the knee, and the bodies cut down so low, that they might have been living in the present day so far as fashion went. They wore white or red stockings 'well drawn up,' and shoes of the same colour, to match. Their jewelry is described as very

beautiful and costly, being composed of the finest of precious stones. They were handsome and tall, but proud and haughty, though gracious in manners; they are further said to have been 'ardent in love, constant in will, and prolific in words,' in short, very much like any other women.

Lewis XII. received John very graciously, and conferred on him the governorship of Ventimiglia, and of the western Rivièra. Now that John Grimaldi's future was looking hopeful, being at peace in his own states, and so firm a friend as Lewis of France by his side, his career was cut short by a dreadful crime, imputed on all sides to his brother Lucien, who from jealousy and ambition assassinated him in 1505. Gioffredo, the best authority we have for all concerning the history of the House of Grimaldi, attributes without a doubt the deed to Lucien; and the only point that any one can bring forward as tending to show he was not guilty is that his mother, Claudine, appointed him to succeed his brother; but if we recollect that in 1493 she was considered too old and infirm to be capable of governing for herself, it is hardly probable she was in a fit state to give so much as her voice in the matter of succession, or, if she did,

that she was unable to realize the frightful manner in which John came by his death.

The public indignation was intense against Lucien; and on the 13th of May, 1506, he was compelled to seek protection from Charles, Duke of Savoy, who, without pronouncing either for his innocence or guilt, granted him an indult forbidding all inquiries being made on the subject of the murder. It was as Suzerain of Mentone and Roccabruna that Charles was able to grant this letter of remission to the new Seignior of Monaco.

At the time of Lucien's accession to power Genoa was trying to shake off French rule, and a storm was brewing that seemed likely to burst, the effects of which might seriously affect Monaco. The Genoese nobles, supported by the French governors, Ravenstein and Roquebertin, assumed a despotic manner towards the people, that they, from their former participation in power and with their inherent democratic notions, were little likely to bear very patiently. In order the further to display their contempt of the populace, the nobles made it a fashion amongst themselves to wear a dagger, which was left visible, and engraved on it the words, 'Castiga

Villano.'* This irritated them to such an extent that it only required the merest trifle to cause an outbreak.

This was naturally not long in happening. It appears that a man named Guillon, belonging to the people, was purchasing from a peasant some mushrooms, and about to carry them off, when a noble, a member of the Doria family, put his hand on the basket containing them. Guillon kept firm hold of it, saying the first come was the first served, upon which Doria gave him a blow in the face, telling him he might carry that away, whilst he would take the mushrooms. The next moment he drew his dagger, and in his anger endeavoured to strike Guillon with it; but Guillon, indignant at the first blow, had by this time by his cries of 'People! People!' gathered a mob around him, and in little more than an hour upwards of 10,000 ruffians were in the streets. The result of this seemingly-trifling circumstance was, however, a revolution, which brought a popular government into power, whose first act was to drive from the town all the nobles with their families. Monaco once more served as a shelter for the greater part of these exiles, and when safely within her walls, they employed themselves by intercepting the Genoese

* Punishment for villains.

navy; the Monacian galleys pursued and captured their ships on all occasions. A few of the nobles retired to their castles, and endeavoured to cut off all communication between Lombardy and Genoa, from whence the latter obtained her corn. Thus they deservedly drew upon themselves the anger of the Plebeians, who called on Philip Ravenstein to establish order and peace by forcing the nobles to submit and give satisfaction to the people. But Ravenstein, a German noble in the service of France, and an aristocrat from his birth, had never met with any amongst the lower class who could not be cowed and subdued by a firm hand; all his sympathies were with the nobles, and their cause he supported. But the Genoese having learnt, by its possession, the value of power, were not so amenable as the German knight expected to find them. They rose up in a body against the French authority; they elected eight tribunes from amongst themselves, they pulled down the royal flag, and they elected as doge, a dyer, named Paul de Novi.

They now turned their attention at once to the re-establishment of commerce, as being the first and most important matter calling for their care; and as their chief hindrance to success existed at Monaco,

they resolved on besieging it without delay. On the 24th of September, 1506, an imposing fleet left the port of Genoa with 14,000 picked men; and landed them on the Spélugues, a twin plateau to Monaco, running parallel to it, and, like it, jutting out into the sea;* it is between the two the port of Hercules lies.

Lucien, finding himself in this awkward position, instantly claimed help from the Duke of Savoy and Louis XII. The former, of whom he was the vassal, sent a very few troops under the command of Captain Nigliando; they took possession of the mountain of Turbia, thus defending the vulnerable side of the place. Lucien seems to have somewhat doubted the duke's sincerity on this occasion, on account of the small body of soldiers sent to his aid. The King of France, who had recently confirmed Lucien in the appointments formerly held by his brother and father, as councillor of state and chamberlain, was too far off to send instant help; but he promised to neglect nothing to support him if he only held out long enough for it to be of any avail to him. Lucien resolved to hold out to the very utmost, and being aided by his brother's clear head and the well-

* On this plateau now stands the famous Casino.

organized troops raised by Augustin in Provence, his success seemed very certain. Augustin Grimaldi was an abbot of the island of St Honorat, off Cannes, and was held in high estimation by the court of France.

The Genoese were equally hopeful; their position was good, it enabled them to command the neighbourhood of Carnieri. The artillery was ranged along the whole length of the Spélugues towards the heights at the back of the Condamine. All their efforts were directed against the fortifications known as *de Sarraval*, the part that was weakest and most accessible. They met with a stouter resistance than they expected; each attack was repulsed as quickly as it was made, and every now and then, losing their energy by want of success, they left Lucien the time to take repose and repair his fortifications.

They were going on in this hopeless way when Lewis XII. resolved to form an expedition, and under his own command lead it against the capital of the Republic, for he was worn out by their constant rebellion against his rule. They were perfectly aware of the preparations being made; but the Genoese still were loth to relinquish their designs on Monaco, and it was not till the arrival of Lewis XII. and the sudden and unlooked-for appearance of the celebrated

Jean d'Allègra, governor of Savona, with 3000 infantry, that they were compelled to give up the contest, which had entailed terrible losses on both sides. The Duke of Savoy, seeing the turn matters were taking, sent reinforcements to Turbia, and thus a five months' useless siege was brought to a close, and on the 22nd of March, 1507, the Genoese retreated. They endeavoured, however, to keep possession of Mentone and Roccabruna, but Lucien was at their heels with fresh troops sent him by Captain d'Allègra, and succeeded in gaining possession of the castles, and the two towns immediately returned to their former allegiance. Lucien then joined the French army, and fought at Rivarolo, and was in the cortége of Lewis on his triumphal entry into Genoa on horseback on the 29th of April, with his drawn sword in his hand.

The king might have acted less leniently than he did towards his now submissive subjects, but the prayers of the women and children induced him to show mercy, and he merely caused the chief of the revolutionists to be arrested, amongst them the doge, Paul de Novi, forcing them to pay a tolerably heavy fine, and causing the destruction of all money coined by the republic. An impregnable fortress was also

to be constructed at La Lanterne, from whence the town and fort were commanded.

In 1508 Lucien went to Milan to see Lewis XII., who received him so very graciously, and was so marked in his acknowledgments of all the services he had rendered France, besides making frequent and seemingly unnecessary mention of the importance of Monaco as regarded its position, and more than once assuring him of his continued friendship and protection, that Lucien began to fear the king had other motives for this marked behaviour than simple gratitude for his services or regard for himself. He began to think that if Lewis' appreciation of Monaco was so very great, one in his strong position might with some reason take into consideration the policy of gaining possession of it. Lucien was right, Lewis already had sent two commissioners to the spot to ascertain its actual strength; and they had even received orders to introduce French troops on the plea of sheltering the Monacians from all attacks of enemies. But before this was done Lucien's private suspicions had made him take the precaution of warning his brother Augustin, who, on hearing from Lucien, instantly repaired to Monaco, and was just in time to close the gates and prevent

the French troops from entering. The king, on learning this failure, sent for Lucien, whom, under one pretext and another, he had managed to retain in Milan, and told him it was of serious importance that a French garrison should be placed in Monaco, as it would render the maintenance of French authority along the Genoese Rivièra so much more easy, and that he believed Lucien too earnest in his good-will towards France to raise any obstacles to the matter. But Lucien was very firm in refusing, and Augustin was preparing to maintain the siege. The king, however, had no intention of appealing to arms to gain his object; he took a less generous method, and had Lucien arrested and imprisoned in the Castle of Roquette. In order to give a decent colouring to so ignoble an action, Lewis complained that Monaco had inflicted a tax of two per cent. on the cargoes of all French vessels that passed by her port, and that this was unjust and unlawful. Lucien, on hearing this, at once offered to submit the case to the Chancellor of France, and to abide by his decision; but as this was a mere excuse on the part of the king, and not really a cause of dissension, he let the matter drop. Monaco was his object, and after the lapse of 15 months, when Lucien's strength and energy had, from his long con-

finement, given way, he ceded the point, and signed a convention which enabled the King of France to keep a garrison in Monaco; moreover, he had, in addition, to take oath on the Bible, declaring he and his successors would ever remain faithful to the king, that he would be the foe of his enemies and the friend of his allies. Even this was not considered sufficient to bind one to a forced oath, Lewis feeling that the chance was, if the opportunity presented itself, Lucien would release himself from what was dragged from him by a long and health-destroying confinement. So Lucien, his sister, the wife of a Doria, and his brother Augustin, were compelled to sign an obligation in favour of the king, not alone of their possessions in France, but likewise their property in the Rivièra, which, in the event of their infidelity, would be forfeited.

On these conditions Lucien was released, and allowed to return to Monaco; which during the whole of his absence had been under the careful guardianship of Augustin. A few months later the King of France sent for Lucien to Paris, stating that his invitation arose from the good-will he entertained for him, and also his wish to receive at his court one for whom he felt most sincere regard.

It is not to be wondered at that Lucien thoroughly doubted these smooth words, and had he dared he would have refused to go, but feeling that would be impossible, he took the precaution before starting of making a declaration, on the 14th August, 1510, in the presence of James Nitardi, a notary of Nice, to the effect that anything he might sign after that date in favour of the King of France would be null and void if it in any way affected the independence of Monaco. This, however, fortunately proved useless, as Lewis, on the 20th of February, 1511, declared, by letters dated at Blois, that Lucien Grimaldi, Seignior of Monaco, had never recognized other master than God (which is totally against the truth, as we have seen he set aside the complaint lodged by the captains of vessels for having to pay two per cent.), annulled the paper signed by the three Grimaldis in favour of himself, and even undertook to defray the expenses entailed on Lucien by the siege of 1506; but his treasurers were not in a hurry to carry out this royal promise. The letters of protection were renewed, and the following year Lewis undertook to make amends to Lucien for any harm that might befall him through his fidelity to France.

During Lucien's captivity at La Roquetta, his

mother, Claudine, made her will. It bears date of the 2nd of May, 1510, and notwithstanding the infirmities which were mentioned as being the cause of her not holding the reins of government when Lambert died, and which one must believe would increase with age rather than not, she proved her faculties were in no way impaired, by the clear manner in which it is drawn up (if indeed the will is her own, or even dictated by her), and the distinct manner she makes known her indignation against the Duke of Savoy, for the meagre way he lent his aid in 1506, when it was so needed; by her express desire that no further homage should be paid to the House of Savoy by her heir and future successors. She left her eldest surviving son heir to the States, but failing his carrying out her wishes, he was to forfeit the inheritance, and it was to pass to his next brother, her son Augustin; but in the event of Lucien's death, then it passed to his sons if they were of age, or if not, to Francesca, Lady of Dolceacqua. Claudine died in 1514; and her will was carried out for 200 years, as it was not till after the peace of Utrecht, in 1731, that the House of Grimaldi renewed their allegiance to the House of Savoy.

In 1518 Lucien married Anne de Pontevez, daughter of Tannequin, Seignior of Chabannes, and of

Jeanne de Villeneuve Flayose, by whom he had several children.

Lucien, now at peace and surrounded by a young family, was hoping to pass the remainder of his life in tranquillity and ease, when retribution in a terrible form was at hand: by the same death he inflicted on his brother was he himself to die. Lucien's sister, Francesca, of whom we have already made mention, the widow of Lucas Doria, Lord of Dolceacqua, had added a codicil on the 15th of October, 1515, to her will, which was originally made on the 19th of December, 1513, whereby she left her children her heirs, and appointed her brothers, Lucien and Augustin Grimaldi, and a near relation, Ansaldo Grimaldi, her executors. Very shortly after her death her eldest son, Bartoloméo, made it a matter of grievance against his uncle Lucien that any delay occurred in the payment of his portion, and, with an evil disposition, he did not take long to determine that his uncle's death would be of infinite advantage to him, and from that to making the resolution of taking his life with his own hand, was but a short and rapid step. The deed once done, his imagination conjured up as a certain result his own succession to the States. A few days before the execution of his horrible design he sent some of his

people to Monaco whom he had let into his confidence, and who were subjects of his cousin, the celebrated André Doria, Seignior of Onéglia, begging Lucien to permit them to stay there, pending some dissensions which rendered their residence in their own country for the time being impossible. Lucien, little suspecting what they were, permitted these secret agents to remain in Monaco. Soon after his nephew told him he was going to Lyons to meet the king, in the hope of obtaining an appointment in the expedition to Milan. For this purpose he went to Monaco and showed his uncle a letter he had received from André Doria, in which, after begging him to hasten to France, he said, 'It is time to execute the project of which he knew.' Later, these equivocal words caused this illustrious admiral to be suspected of having sanctioned and aided in Lucien's murder, the more so as his galleys entered Monaco soon after the crime was committed. Bartoloméo, seemingly resolved on going to Lyons, went back to Dolceacqua on the pretext of making preparations. At his request, on Saturday, the 22nd of August, Lucien sent one of his brigs to Ventimiglia to bring his nephew and suite back to Monaco, when he was to take leave of his uncle and continue his journey. On his landing Bartoloméo was asked by his uncle to

accompany him to hear mass, but he excused himself by saying he had already heard it. Lucien, therefore, went alone, during which time his nephew remained in the gallery of the palace, in secret communication with his people. After mass they sat down to table, the place of honour being given to Bartoloméo, but he could eat nothing, and it was easy to perceive by the pallor of his countenance and his strange expression that his thoughts and feelings were not to be envied. Lucien attributed his nephew's state to a passing depression, and after in vain pressing him to eat, he placed one of his young children in his arms in order to amuse him, but Doria began to tremble so violently they were obliged to take the child from him, he was quite unable to hold it. His behaviour, however, gave rise to no suspicions. On rising from table he begged his uncle to give him his instructions for this pretended journey, and for that purpose they adjourned together to a cabinet situated at the end of the gallery, where it was Lucien's habit to write and attend to his affairs. They were discussing the matter when the major-domo came to inform his master that four galleys were making for Monaco keeping along the coast. Bartoloméo said they belonged to his cousin André Doria's squadron, and he immediately wrote to the commander for

him at once to enter the port and receive a pressing communication. He showed his uncle the letter, and then gave it to the major-domo, desiring him to take an armed boat and himself deliver it.

Thus he managed to get rid of 12 or 14 men from the palace, which were necessary for the manning of the boat. These measures taken, he sent away all the attendants he found in the gallery, with the exception of a black slave, who would never quit his master. Lucien then sat at his table preparing to write, whilst his nephew remained standing, when a villain and assassin of San-Rémo,* who had come with Doria, entered the room with another accomplice. At almost the same moment the slave who had refused to go heard the cry of, 'Ah traitor! traitor!' He approached the room and partly opened the door, but feared to enter, for he saw Doria, after throwing Lucien down, drive a dagger into his throat, and then strike him with it all over his body. The murderer's people, who were on the watch, rushed to the cabinet armed to the teeth and surrounded Bartoloméo, who, leaving his victim, went out crying with his dagger in his hand, 'Killed, killed!' This cry was repeated by his people

* His name was Barraban. See Appendix C. for an account of his death.

and by all those whom he had sent in advance of him to Monaco. They took down the halberds and the armour from the guard-room, and drove out the few attendants who at that hour were to be found in the palace. Thus Bartoloméo and his accomplices rendered themselves masters of the greatest part of the palace, but they could not get possession of the principal terrace, where a few servants had placed themselves and were crying 'To arms!' a cry the inhabitants responded to by rushing fully armed to the palace.

Dolceacqua's people at once closed the gates and made the signal agreed on to the galleys anchored off the Cape d'Aglio, but the signal was not seen. However, the inhabitants forced their entrance into the palace and attacked the assassins, who were well armed. Then Bartoloméo Doria presented himself to the people, and begged to be heard. He protested, in the first place, that in all he had done he had acted in the name of Marie de Villeneuve,* the legitimate sovereign of the country. He added that 400 soldiers would be there in three hours to hold the place in that

* Marie de Villeneuve, married to Rénaud de Villeneuve, was the only child of John, Claudine's eldest son, who was assassinated by Lucien. Her claim was not lawful in any case; as, if females were to inherit, her mother was still alive at John's death, and, therefore, by right Lucien was the next heir.

lady's name, from whom Monaco was to expect the best treatment and many advantages.

The people, refusing to believe that Lucien was actually dead, Doria caused his corpse to be brought half way down the staircase; then they would not listen to Bartoloméo, accusing him of his crime, and attempting to seize his person.

On both sides the position was critical. Doria and his people found themselves with their promised succour not arrived, and the inhabitants were feeling uneasy at the murderer having placed himself in the most inaccessible part of the castle with his armed accomplices; also, that a certain number of them were distributed over the town, and that at any moment the expected help might arrive. In the midst of these fears on both sides, Bartoloméo promised to retire if the people would guarantee his life and those with him. To this the people consented. Bartoloméo then escaped on board André Doria's galleys, and went to France, furious and in despair at the uselessness of his crime, and dreading the vengeance of Lucien's family.*

* Gioffredo's History of the Maritime Alps.

CHAPTER VII.

SPANISH PROTECTORATE.

THE moment the news reached Augustin Grimaldi of his brother's murder he left for Monaco, where he was received with welcome and joy by the people, who by experience already knew his brave and noble disposition. Lucien's eldest child, Honoré, being but five years of age at his father's death, Augustin, according to his mother's will, was recognized at once as Seignior of the three towns, Monaco, Mentone, and Roccabruna, and guardian to his brother's children. The life that he was now about to lead would be very different from the one he had just quitted, when, as Bishop of Grasse and Abbot of Lérins, church matters had well-nigh alone occupied his attention. But his capabilities were equal to the occasion.

In the commencement of his administration, and indeed till it was gratified, revenge for his brother's murder was his sole thought: he resolved to leave no means untried for the attainment of his object. He

set his whole energies to work, and determined never to rest till he had traced Bartoloméo Doria and brought him to justice. The better to further his will, he endeavoured to interest the two great sovereigns of Europe, Francis I. of France and Charles V. of Germany, on his behalf. The latter was prompt in his reply to the appeal, and wrote from Tordésillas on the 5th of November, 1524, giving orders that if Bartoloméo Doria was to be found in any part of his dominions, he was to be immediately arrested and kept imprisoned till further orders. It was not till the 28th of the February following that Francis took any notice of Grimaldi's request, then he sent instructions to his lieutenant in Italy, and to his governor in Provence, to the effect that Doria and Barraban were, if traced, to be taken and handed over to Augustin Grimaldi. This order, however, was not regarded, as we shall see presently, and the consequence was a rupture between Francis and Grimaldi, which led to their complete disunion.

During this time, however, Bartoloméo, who had sought and found safety in the Duke of Savoy's territory, foreseeing the stir that would be made for his arrest, attempted to justify his bloody deed by stating, in a letter written for that purpose, that it was in self-

defence he had stabbed his uncle; that Lucien had insulted him, and drawn his dagger, with which he struck him, and that then he seized the weapon out of his hand and killed him on the spot. He admitted having said that Monaco belonged by right to his cousin, Mary Grimaldi, of Villeneuve, but he cléared her from any participation in Lucien's death, which he maintained was not premeditated. His cousin, who read this letter, at once wrote to Augustin and expressed her horror of Bartoloméo's act, and disbelief in the truth of his statement, at the same time denying any claim to Monaco, and fully recognizing Augustin's own rights.

Augustin now prayed the emperor that Dolceacqua and all other imperial fiefs held by Doria should be forfeited, and devolve to himself, in compensation for his brother's death. In answer to this Charles V., partly acknowledging Augustin's claims, wrote to Francis Sforza, Duke of Milan, and Antonio Adorno, Doge of Genoa, giving them a commission to take proceedings against Bartoloméo Doria, so far as pronouncing a definite sentence against him, as well as inflicting the personal penalty on him of forfeiting his lands.

Owing to the help given him by André Doria,

Bartoloméo still escaped pursuit, and Admiral Bonnivet, in direct opposition to the orders he received from the King of France, received him and permitted him to remain in Italy unmolested. This arose from his having been requested to do so by André Doria; and Bonnivet, judging that his royal master would rather risk offending the Seignior of Monaco than André Doria, whose services were so valuable and so valued by France, followed the dictates of his reason instead of his instructions.

Europe was now on the eve of a great war. The two of her most powerful sovereigns were about to test their pre-eminence before the world; and Italy, that everlasting battle-field, was the chosen scene of action.

The Constable of Bourbon, a traitor to his own country, had taken up arms under Charles V. An enormous force was gathered in the Genoese Rivièra. A portion of the troops were to enter Provence through Nice and the Var, whilst the artillery was put on board a Spanish fleet under Admiral Moncade and sent to Antibes, where they were to land and, joining the other troops, march to Marseilles. These movements led the emperor's attention to be drawn to Monaco, which at once appeared a most desirable

position for him to have access to in his present emergency. A port was wanted where he could unite his fleet, but unfortunately Monaco was under the protection of his enemy. However, Charles resolved to see what he could do to separate the Seignior of Monaco from France; he knew how bitter Augustin felt at France having permitted Bartoloméo Doria to be sheltered in her dominions, and he sent an envoy to Monaco with instructions to feel his way cautiously, but to propose that Augustin should place himself under the protection of the empire, and by accepting the offer he should reap very great advantages, but above all he promised that Lucien's murder should be revenged. This, as Charles expected, produced the effect of making Augustin desire to conclude the treaty, but he yet wavered before actually doing so. Many causes made him pause; in the first place, the Grimaldis had always been deeply attached to France, and in the next, he was himself a French bishop and holding French property, and in the receipt of French pensions. Francis learnt that Charles had attempted to shake Augustin's fidelity to himself, and in consequence gave directions that Admiral de la Fayette, then commanding the royal fleet in the Mediterranean, should

at once repair to Monaco, and exert all his influence with Grimaldi to keep him true to France. Augustin felt terribly perplexed when the question was finally put to him point blank by de la Fayette as to what he really intended doing; he at last gave, as answer, that he should remain neutral, and that his port would be open to all who were in need of its shelter. But though that answer might silence if not satisfy the French admiral, it was not likely to do so with the emperor, and when Augustin found that neutrality would not do, he decided on sending his cousin Leonard Grimaldi to treat with Charles V.; he knew by so doing he should secure safety to himself, for he was far too clear-sighted not to see that France could not in the end be victorious when contending against the empire.

This preliminary step of the Seignior of Monaco was sufficient for the Constable of Bourbon to take advantage of, and on the 24th of June, 1524, he gave orders for a fleet to enter the port of Monaco. The duke went there himself to receive it, and then left again for Nice to rejoin the army. The French had a very powerful fleet commanded by André Doria and de la Fayette; and on the 4th of July they advanced towards the Spanish squadron under Moncade,

which they defeated, taking Philibert de Chalon, Prince of Orange, prisoner. On the 7th they again met the Spaniards off Nice, and Moncade, who however succeeded in taking Villafranca, was so disabled that he was driven to take refuge in the port of Monaco. André Doria, burning to wreak his vengeance on Augustin, and unable to follow Moncade into Monaco, seized the excuse of Grimaldi having sheltered the Spanish fleet in his port (for as yet he knew nothing of Leonard Grimaldi's mission to Charles V.) to bombard Mentone; Augustin was himself there at the time, and a ball passed within a few inches of him. When André thought he had done harm enough, he withdrew, having captured a brigantine and a Monacian galley. Augustin, in his indignation at this insult offered him under the French flag, seemed to lose sight of the steps he had himself taken antagonistic to France by negotiating with the emperor; and now openly took offensive measures against Francis I., and through his instrumentality Antibes, Grasse, Lérins, Brignollet, and St Maximin took the oath of fidelity to the empire.

On the 20th of August the siege of Marseilles commenced, but the inhabitants bravely repulsed the enemy, and the constable's boast to the emperor, that

the name alone of Bourbon would suffice for the surrender of the whole of Provence without a shot being fired, was likely to prove as false as he was himself.

It is related of the Marquis de Pescaire, that, wearied by the length of the siege, he picked up in his tent three balls that had just killed two gentlemen, and his chaplain who was saying mass, and sent them to de Bourbon, on a tray, with these words: 'My Lord, you assured his Majesty, when still beyond the mountains, that Marseilles would surrender at the first cannon fired, or, at the latest, in three days. Here are the keys which the town sends you; take them and enter.'

The siege was raised on the 28th of September, having lasted 39 days, and, after a disastrous retreat, it was with the utmost difficulty the Imperialists could embark at Toulon. Once away, they hastened to Monaco. The place was now more appreciated than ever by the emperor, and the treaty between himself and Leonard Grimaldi, acting for Augustin, was concluded. But Leonard went far beyond the limit his cousin gave him, and when he heard what the six articles that had been signed were, he wrote to the emperor declaring his envoy to have surpassed his instructions. Article I. was: That Augustin Grimaldi

should hold Monaco as a fief, and render homage to his imperial Majesty. II. The emperor undertook to receive Grimaldi under his protection, with all he possessed, and that this should be understood in any treaty for a truce or peace he might conclude. III. The Seignior of Monaco was to maintain 200 men for the safety of the fortress, the emperor paying the expenses for the same monthly. IV. The emperor was to compensate by the bishopric of Salerno, and other benefices, equivalent to the losses Augustin might sustain in France, if he did not within a year obtain restitution. V. The Seignior of Monaco was to be made councillor of the empire, with an annual pension of 2000 golden dollars. VI. The emperor was to give the investiture of Dolceacqua.

It was when, on the 16th of June, the emperor, in execution of Article I., required Augustin, as a vassal of the Holy Roman empire, to appear before him by deputy or in person, that Grimaldi informed the emperor he could not part with his independence over Monaco. He would agree to a perpetual alliance, a protectorate, and even the right of keeping a garrison, but the infeodation of Monaco would, were he to consent to it, be failing in all the traditions of the Grimaldis, and going in direct opposition to his mother's

will, by which he inherited; on this point he was firm, and Charles ceded it by annulling the first article. He made a declaration, dated the 5th of November, 1524, at Tordesillas, that he would in no way prejudice the sovereignty of the Grimaldis over Monaco, and that he was contented to retain the Seignior Augustin as his friend. Article IV. was also revoked, Augustin leaving the question of compensation to the liberality of the emperor. This treaty, which Augustin had endeavoured to keep secret, France now learnt, and the king at once confiscated all Grimaldi's property, livings, and income derived from Provence. On the same day that it was agreed articles I. and IV. should be revoked Charles V. wrote to Augustin, thanking him for the succour he lent the imperial army on their retreat from Marseilles. On the 13th of December Augustin was created councillor, and on the 20th of the same month he received the warrant of an annual pension of 2000 golden dollars. Though this was a great deal, it did not compensate him for his losses in France; and Augustin, probably in the vain hope of getting back his property, wrote a letter explaining the various causes that had driven him to separate himself from France; the principal one he adduced being the harbouring of his brother's murderer; the

others were of less consequence, and hardly subjects for just complaint, being the bombardment of Mentone, André Doria seizing two ships, and the ill-treatment experienced by the Monacians who had fallen into his hands, one being actually killed without any inquiry being made into the matter. He also alluded to Lewis XII.'s treachery towards his brother Lucien. Thus he managed to draw up a goodly string of grievances, which he stated to have actuated him in uniting his fortunes with the Emperor Charles.

Owing to the disabled state of the imperial army, Francis I. succeeded in taking Milan without a shot being fired, and for a time he indulged in dreams that led him to think he could conquer all Italy. But Charles was not idle, forces were being levied in all directions. The Constable of Bourbon resolving to retrieve his defeat in Provence by a grand victory, troops and war material were brought from Germany, Spain, and Italy, and on the 25th of February, 1525, the imperial army under the walls of Pavia won as brilliant a victory over the French as is anywhere recorded in history. The King of France was taken prisoner, and sent to Madrid, where he remained a captive for one year.

This great success of the Imperialists caused

Augustin to assume an independence he had no right to, and to vex the Nizzards in their commerce; they, finding no redress was to be obtained by their own remonstrance, complained to the Duke of Savoy, and very soon Grimaldi was forced to submit to the conditions imposed on him, and in the presence of Lieutenant-general Malingre, sent by the duke during the governor's absence, acknowledged himself, so far as Roccabruna and Mentone were concerned, vassal to the Duke of Savoy.

Charles V. in the midst of his success and good fortune was willing to let all who had served him faithfully share in it, and amongst others the Seignior of Monaco was not forgotten; on the 26th of March, 1525, he addressed the following letter to him.

'In the name of the emperor.

'Reverend father in God, dear and trusty councillor: our brother-in-law and lieutenant-general in Italy, the Duke de Bourbonnais, and also our viceroy in Naples, having written fully and informed us of your good, great, and loyal duty for us in that fortunate battle against the King of France, we cannot thank you enough, but you may feel certainly assured that we can never forget such a service, and our in-

tention is to recognize it fully, so that, in return for having placed your life and property in danger, to uphold and preserve our honour, reputation, and good right, you, and the others who have well served us, shall share in the profit of the victory; as more fully will our said brother of Bourbon and the said viceroy tell you, whom we request you to believe as ourselves; and continue to serve our brother of Bourbon as you would our own person. And so much, reverend father in God, dear and trusty councillor, may our Lord have you in his keeping.

'Done at our town of Madrid, 20th of March, 1525.'

Augustin, whose thirst for revenge had never been quenched, hearing that Bartoloméo Doria, taking advantage of the confusion occasioned during the war, had escaped unnoticed to the castle of La Penna, and had there shut himself up, instantly assembled 600 men, and, increasing this little force with fresh troops from Antibes, advanced towards the castle, and attacked it so unexpectedly and with such energy, that Doria, being unprepared and with little or no means of defending himself, was taken prisoner to Monaco, and the castle destroyed. Proceedings were immediately

commenced against Bartoloméo; he was tried, found guilty, and condemned to death.

On this news reaching the ears of Pope Clement VII., he at once wrote to Augustin, urging him to be merciful, reminding him that, as the vicar of Jesus Christ, the pope should set the example of mercy, and that himself, a priest and a bishop, was equally called on to exercise it. He pointed out to him that Doria was his nephew, and that in forgiving him he would extinguish the family hatred that must arise afresh by carrying out what might be termed a righteous vengeance. Cardinal Sadolet, a personal friend of Augustin's, signed the letter. But this generous and merciful advice was unheeded; besides his own desire to gratify his long-enduring revenge, Augustin imagined that André Doria had instigated the pope to write to him, and that of itself was sufficient to destroy every merciful feeling within him. Bartoloméo was executed on the 13th of July, 1525, and his property confiscated.

In Article VI. of the Convention signed between Charles and Augustin it was stipulated that the emperor was to invest Grimaldi with the forfeited lands of Doria, which Augustin had already appro-

priated in November, 1523. Now that Doria was dead, the emperor, on the 20th of March, 1526, addressed a communication to the Duke of Bourbon, his lieutenant in Italy, informing him of his having ratified and confirmed the sentence of confiscation passed on Doria's lands, in consequence of his having been sentenced to death for murder; and that Augustin Grimaldi should benefit by them for his life.

In the treaty of peace concluded at Madrid Augustin, according to the emperor's promise, was not overlooked. Amongst the diplomatic papers on the subject, there is a letter dated 25th of July, 1525, in which it is stipulated that the Bishop of Monègues,* with others mentioned, was to be re-imbursed for all losses, ecclesiastical or otherwise, and that all that were imprisoned during the war belonging to Augustin's subjects were to be set at liberty. The treaty was signed in 1526, but not carried out. The assembly of notables at Cognac released the king from his oath which had obtained him his freedom, and broke the treaty, in which were several points that were actually beyond the royal power to agree to. More than this, they not only refused to rescind the order of sequestra-

* Monègues and Mourgues were names by which Monaco was equally well known.

tion passed on Augustin's property in France, but the king took from him the Abbey of Lerins (which in 1527 he gave to Cardinal de Bourbon) and all his other benefices in France. Notwithstanding the fourth article in the treaty of Burgos being annulled, the emperor, finding how Francis had acted, conferred the bishopric of Majorca, and an archbishopric in Sardinia, on Augustin, and many letters exist, bearing date about this period, proving the great regard Charles V. entertained for the Seignior of Monaco.*

The French again met with a defeat in Italy on the war breaking out afresh, but Marguerite of Austria, aunt to Charles V., and Louisa of Savoy, Francis I.'s mother, interfered to stop further bloodshed, and pending the negotiations for the peace of Cambray, or 'The Ladies' Peace,' as it is sometimes called, Charles proceeded to Italy to be crowned by the pope. Fourteen galleys, under André Doria's command, now attached to the fortunes of Spain, left Barcelona to accompany the emperor. Charles passed along the coast of Provence, and on the 5th of August, 1529, he landed at Monaco, when he was received with the

* Amongst other letters of interest to be found in the archives at the Palace of Monaco from Charles V., is one informing Augustin Grimaldi of his intended marriage with Elizabeth of Portugal.

greatest grandeur and magnificence and every demonstration of joy. During this visit the alliance between Spain and the Grimaldis was greatly strengthened, and Charles promised in the treaty of peace then being drawn up, as he had done previously, that Augustin's interests should not be overlooked. The emperor, being desirous of reconciling Doria and Grimaldi, took the opportunity of their being together, and on terms of host and guest, to beg them to set all bitterness aside. Out of regard for Charles they both exchanged a few courteous words, but parted with as much enmity towards each other as ever.

The treaty of Cambray was signed, and a clause in it renewed the stipulations in reference to Augustin, that were contained but not fulfilled in the treaty of Madrid. This time, however, they were carried out, and on the 12th of the following November Augustin was, by letters-patent signed by Francis I., re-instated in all the possessions and rights he enjoyed in France previous to the war, together with their privileges, and, moreover, that all or any of those concerned in the murder of his brother should be, when taken, punished according to the extent of their participation in the crime. Charles likewise conferred both rank and possessions on Grimaldi, raising him to the title of

prince, and giving him lands in Italy, amongst them the Campana estate, carrying with it the title of marquis, and one of the most important in the kingdom of Naples. He likewise received a pension of 75,000 francs.

On one occasion Grimaldi's vessels being employed in the service of the empire, they were joined by the fleet commanded by André Doria. The same enmity that existed between the two commanders was fully shared by the Genoese and Monacian sailors. Augustin wrote and informed the emperor of his great dislike to placing his subjects beneath the orders of Doria, and requested it might be avoided. On the 5th of July, 1531, the emperor wrote to the captain-general of his Sicilian fleet desiring him to take the Monacian vessels under his command, and so to act that any disagreement between them and those under Doria should be carefully avoided, and that Grimaldi's galleys were to be respected as his own.

Shortly before Augustin Grimaldi's death he endeavoured to obtain possession of the rock and fortress of St Agnes. He had for some time perceived the importance of its position, and, during a temporary absence of the Duke of Savoy, he treated with Baron Alexander de Salanova, Governor of Nice, for the ces-

sion of the fort, place, and territory belonging to it, and it was agreed on for 4000 golden dollars. 3000 had already been paid on the 13th of December, 1529, and on the same day Augustin received the investiture at the hands of the baron. But the people of Sospello, when they heard of it, declared that if the duke permitted such an alienation they would rise up in a body to prevent it, and were so urgent and earnest in their prayer to him not to allow it, that when Charles of Savoy received their petition, and heard how they protested against such a step being taken, he took back St Agnes, and desired the money Augustin had paid should be returned to him.

Grimaldi's death took place suddenly on the 14th of April, 1532. A cardinal's hat was destined for him, but he died just before his intended promotion. The Emperor Charles expressed and felt real regret at his death; and as soon as he could he confirmed in favour of his nephew and successor, Honoré I., the stipulations in the treaty of the 7th of July, 1524, as also all the temporal advantages he had accorded to his uncle.* On the 25th of April, 1532, he rendered

* The possessions which were given to Honoré I. by Charles V. amounted to the value of 173,946 dollars, and were sold for a similar sum in 1641 by the King of Spain, at the time they were confiscated.

an act of public homage to the late Seignior of Monaco, and assured the young Honoré of his continued friendship and protection.

At the time of Augustin's death Honoré was only 15 years of age. A family council was held, by which it was resolved to place him under the guardianship of Etienne Grimaldi, a distant member of the family. Charles V. on several occasions wrote to Etienne, expressing his interest in the young Honoré, and acknowledging his own zeal for the imperial cause. Etienne being desirous of retaining Charles's favour, and in order to exalt Honoré in the imperial eyes, he sent him, in 1535, with a squadron of Monacian galleys against the Turks of Tunis, where Charles could himself be a witness to his valour and bravery.

It was this occasion that led to the introduction into the country of the cactus plant, or prickly pear, which is seen in such rich profusion in the Maritime Alps. A monk at Carnolès, of the Franciscan order, Father Baptist, of Savona, accompanied Honoré on his expedition, and brought back with him a few leaves of the cactus, which he planted amongst the rocks beneath the ramparts on the south side of Monaco. The climate agreed with them, and very soon they formed an impregnable defence to the entire rock. Nearly a

century later a Spaniard, named Antonio Muguos, planted it as a boundary wall to his garden, and it answered so admirably that the *curé* of St Nicolas profited by the idea, and planted a similar fence around the cemetery.

Etienne retained the government of Monaco in his hands during his life. Honoré is supposed freely to have left it with him, as had it not been by his own desire he did so, there was no reason for his not taking it himself.

During Etienne's administration great improvements were made in Monaco. He restored the parish church of St Nicolas, raised the ramparts, and renewed the artillery. He enlarged the palace, and above all he caused the famous water-tank to be constructed in the Court of Honour, which is called the Great Cistern. It is of immense proportions and of inestimable value to the inhabitants, who often were sorely in need of water, the want of it frequently causing terrible distress.

In 1536 Monaco had the honour of receiving a visit from Pope Paul III., who was on his way to Villafranca, where, through his instrumentality, the famous truce of Nice was signed between the King of France and the emperor. It was, in truth, time for

interference, for the devastation of Provence had caused all hearts to sink with fear. The reconciliation between the two sovereigns, however, was not very sincere, for though a few miles only separated them, they refused to hold a personal interview.

Honoré I. spared nothing to do honour to his illustrious guest, and his reception of him was most magnificent.

Not long after this, and when war had again broken out, Nice was attacked by pirates of Barbary, and her safety was due to the heroic defence made by Catherine Segurana, the Joan of Arc of Nice. They subsequently burnt Mentone * and Roccabruna.

In 1561 Etienne died, and four years later Honoré, who had always been faithful to the empire, testified the same zeal to Charles's successor as he had shown to himself by leading in person his fleet against the Turks, who, in 1565, besieged Malta. Again, in 1571, Honoré immortalized himself at the battle of Lepante, where, on the 7th of October, the Christian fleet destroyed the Turkish, and stayed their triumphant invasion.

In 1581 Honoré I. died, having been greatly

* Mentone at this period had a population not exceeding 300 ; 50 years later it increased to 1110, and now amounts to 5000.

esteemed by Charles V. and his successor, Philip II., and admired by the world as one of the best educated princes of his time. He left twelve children: seven sons and five daughters.

Honoré was succeeded by his eldest son, Charles, of whose reign history mentions but one event worthy of record, and that was an attempt on the part of the French to seize Monaco.

Count Angoulême, Governor of Provence, was sustaining an obstinate contest against the confederates of Philip II. of Spain, who naturally received all the assistance that could be given them from Monaco. An adventurer named Cartier suggested to Count Angoulême that they should seize Monaco, which he called the provision-house of Spain, and that once wrested from their enemies, they could soon conquer them. With this intention three ships, with infantry concealed in them, were prepared and commanded by Cartier. They entered the port of Monaco under pretence of doing so in order to pay the dues claimed by the Grimaldis from all vessels passing by. Cartier had succeeded in gaining over a Corsican who lived in the town to second him in his enterprise. This man was to draw away the attention of the sentinels whilst

Cartier, by placing a petard against the gates of the town, was to force them open; but the whole plot failed, said, by some, through the Corsican not keeping his own counsel, and, by others, through the interference of St Dévote, who suddenly appeared to the assailants, and so frightened them that they all ran away, with the exception of Cartier, who was taken prisoner. He was tried and hanged outside the gates of the town.

Duke Charles Emanuel I. of Savoy, now wearied by the continued revolt against his power by the House of Grimaldi, resolved, if possible, to force a return of their allegiance. Charles II. had refused, when called on, to present himself before the duke to receive the investiture of his fief, and the duke had his case judicially tried before the Court of Turin, as one of felony; and on the 26th of April, 1583, made a declaration himself confirming the sentence of forfeiture pronounced by the Supreme Court against the seigniors of Monaco. But when they endeavoured to carry out the sentence, the Spanish opposed it. However, on the 3rd of May, 1588, the Emperor Rudolph II., at the request of the Duke of Savoy, granted him a new charter, by which the perpetual vicariat of the

empire over Mentone and Roccabruna was invested in the duke, with whatever rights the emperors had over these territories.

Charles died in 1589 unmarried, and was succeeded by his brother Hercule.

Hercule found himself by the treaty of Burgos compelled to take up all the quarrels of Spain if he was required by her to do so; thus he was obliged to join in the war being carried on by Philip II. against Henry IV. of Navarre, then become King of France.

The governors of Marseilles refused to recognize Henry as king, and the Spanish galleys that entered that port helped the insurgents to resist the Duke of Guise, whom Henry had sent there as his lieutenant. Cazaux, one of the rebel chiefs, was killed by Pierre de Libertat, and then, aided by the inhabitants, who were for King Henry, he received in 1596 the Duke of Guise in triumph. The duke then pursued the Spanish fleet, which retired to Monaco, and took shelter in that port.

Attached to the court of the Duke of Guise was the daughter of a man named Arnaldi, and with this man the duke entered into an agreement, that if he would deliver the town of Monaco into his hands

he should receive a reward of 50,000 francs. Arnaldi agreed, and he was from within the walls to make a signal when the right moment for the attack was to take place. All arrangements being concluded, the rope ladders were fixed, and at the signal the men ascended the dangerous and almost perpendicular rocks that led to the town; they had nearly reached the heights, at the spot where fort Antoine now stands, when the ladders were pushed violently back, and those on them hurled to the bottom. The signal had been seen by an officer attached to Hercule's person; Arnaldi was arrested, and condemned to a frightful death. He was tortured in the most barbarous manner before his execution, after death his body was quartered, and placed on the ramparts. The same sentence was pronounced and carried out against his accomplices. Such was Spanish mercy in the sixteenth century. The Duke of Guise revenged Arnaldi's death by the sacking of Roccabruna. At length the treaty of Vervins, in 1598, put an end to the war in these parts. Hercule was nominally included amongst Spain's allies, to whom extended the conditions stipulated for in the treaty.

In 1602 the question of limit was again raised, and though after long discussions and debates the

question seemed settled, it was not actually so, nor was it definitely so till 1760.

Hercule, being no longer occupied with wars, had the misfortune to permit himself to give way to immorality, and, what was worse, spared neither the wives nor daughters of his own subjects. Accused of having dishonoured several Monacian families, some of the inhabitants, burning with fury and indignation, swore they would have their revenge. With this object they forced themselves into the palace during the night of the 21st of November, 1604, and, entering the prince's apartments, murdered him in his bed, and threw his body into the sea. Hercule had married in 1595 Mary, daughter of Prince Valdetare and Jane of Arragon, by whom he had one child, afterwards Honoré II. This young boy miraculously escaped making the fourth Grimaldi murdered within the walls of the palace, for the assassins, after killing his father, searched in vain for him, with the same bloody intentions.

CHAPTER VIII.

HONORÉ II.

The little Honoré was but seven years of age at the time of his father's death, and, with the consent of the family, he was placed under the guardianship of his mother's brother, Prince Valdetare, a Spaniard, and a devoted and zealous adherent to the king and his cause. With the view of saturating his nephew with pure Spanish sentiments, he removed him to Milan, where he knew no other influence save his own could be brought to bëar on him.

Previous however to his doing this, and when he went to Monaco in order to remove Honoré, Prince Valdetare resolved if possible to trace the murderers of his brother-in-law and bring them to justice. Ten persons were arrested, and sufficient evidence was brought against them for Valdetare to consider himself justified in giving orders for five to be strangled, and the other five to be thrown down over the ram-

parts into the sea at the same spot and hour they had chosen to assassinate Hercule.

The prince was utterly regardless of the interests of his sister's children whenever they in any way clashed with those of Spain, and it was with perfect indifference to the evil that might ensue in consequence, that in 1605 he concluded a treaty at Milan with Count de Fuentes, who acted as Philip II.'s representative, that a Spanish garrison, chosen by the Duke of Milan, and commanded by Spanish officers, should be placed in Monaco. The details of the treaty were in every way humiliating, and had Prince Valdetare had the same clearness of judgment as he had devotion to Spain, he might have foreseen that instead of working good he was working evil for the future. By way of further strengthening the ties between the Grimaldis and Spain, he married his niece, Jane Grimaldi, Honoré's sister, to John Trivulce, Count de Melzi, a prince of the empire, and afterwards a cardinal. At the same time it was decided that Honoré should marry Trivulce's sister.

All power was now virtually taken out of Honoré's hands, and though the Spanish troops went through the farce of taking an oath that they held the place for the Seignior of Monaco only, and that they

were there solely for his defence, that they would preserve with fidelity all the conditions of the treaty, and that the revenue, the port dues, and jurisdiction of Monaco were to remain unchanged, the protectorate very soon became an absolute dominion of Spain. The king coveted the complete possession of the port; it rendered carrying on war along the French coast so much more easy, and it enabled him to keep a watch over the Duke of Savoy and the Genoese Republic, both of whom were somewhat doubtful allies.

As a reward for his zeal, the king conferred on Valdetare the collar of the Golden Fleece, and this mark of distinction served the more thoroughly to close the prince's eyes to the ruin he was bringing on his nephew. From the time of the Spanish troops entering Monaco none of the inhabitants of that place, Mentone, or Roccabruna, were permitted to wear or possess any description of defensive weapon; thus they managed to put away all possibility of rebellion.

As soon as Honoré II. attained his majority, which he did at eighteen, he left Milan and went to Monaco, where he arrived on the 21st of October, 1615. Captain Saratta Olazza was the governor at that time, appointed as such by Spain. It took but a very short period

for Honoré to learn that he himself was a mere cipher in the place; none felt more the truth of M. de Sabran's words than he did, who, when as ambassador to Lewis XIII., he wrote to the Archbishop of Bordeaux that 'Spain was like the devil, the more power one gave him and the more that was done for him the more did he abuse it and tyrannize.'

Honoré complained to the King of Spain of his position, the protection no longer deserved the name, for it was pure oppression; he reminded Philip of the treaties concluded with Charles V. and the Convention of 1605, but all to no purpose; there was no semblance of change made, and the Monacians felt they were treated more as a conquered people than as friends and allies. Fearing these complaints might lead to results, Spain thought it advisable to increase the garrison, which, moreover, they ceased to maintain; and not content with making Honoré do so out of his own treasury, they frequently stopped him receiving his revenues derived from his lands in Milan and Naples; yet by no method or means could he obtain a hearing, much less redress. He now resolved to cast off the Spanish yoke as speedily as possible, and once more place his house under the protection of France. But the recent fate of his cousin, Hannibal

Grimaldi of Bueil, acted as a warning to him not to be too precipitous in trying to obtain his freedom. For two centuries the seigniors of Bueil had held the hereditary governorship of Nice, and were owners of many fiefs, both in Provence and Nice, which they had received free from any suzerainty, though subsequently they gave up their independence voluntarily in favour of the Duke of Savoy. The dukes, however, found that vassals holding such extensive power at the courts of Bueil were somewhat difficult to retain, when, as now happened to be case, their own inclination was against their paying homage to them.

In 1599 Hannibal Grimaldi had accompanied the Duke of Savoy to France, and had been favoured with so many distinguished marks of friendship from Henry IV., that from that time on he kicked against his allegiance to Savoy, and, on his return to Nice, openly spoke of his claims to independence by inheritance. Charles Emanuel, not liking to attack Hannibal publicly, adopted a *ruse* to get rid of him. Escorted by 1000 men, the Duke of Savoy went to Nice, under the pretext of establishing a senate there, as also to await the return of his son, who was then in Spain. Grand fêtes were given by all in honour of their sovereign, but none equalled in splendour the

entertainment given by the Count de Bueil, who made a point of displaying his wealth and power, which but helped towards his own destruction, as it increased the duke's desire to be relieved of so mighty a vassal. The count had one son, named André, whose disposition resembled his father, being as overbearing and haughty as himself. The duke gently rebuked him one day for having told a Savoyard nobleman, with whom he had had some dispute, to remember he was only a vassal, whilst he himself was an independent nobleman. Charles of Savoy, however, in order to gain his ends, pretended to admire Count de Bueil and his son, and invited them to accompany him back to Turin, in order to make some return for the hospitality he had received from them. Having them now in his power, he told them that, having heard many rumours, spread by evil tongues, that the Grimaldis were not true to their suzerain, and that they desired to render themselves independent of Savoy, and that he, earnestly wishing for friendship, and to prevent any ground for disagreement between them, suggested, in a tone that implied a command, that Hannibal should change his lands of Bueil for others in Piedmont. The count refused at once, upon which the duke had him arrested, in order to

give him time for reflection. Hannibal escaped, and fled to the castle of Bueil, where in the heart of mountains he was almost inaccessible. The duke paused, and the count endeavoured to get Spain to help him. The king himself consented, but the terms were such that his ministers refused to ratify the acceptance, for fear of rousing France, which at that moment would have been extremely inconvenient to Spain. Delays were constant, a thousand trifling difficulties were raised to postpone active measures being taken, till at last Hannibal lost patience, and turned to France for aid. There he succeeded better, and by a treaty, signed in March, 1617, the King of France took Count de Bueil, his family, vassals, and all his possessions, under his protection, giving him a pension and granting other advantages. Charles Emanuel of Savoy, not wishing to quarrel with France, took no further steps for the moment, but seized the opportunity which presented itself in 1620, when the civil war in France occupied the king's entire thoughts. He desired the Senate of Nice to bring an action against Hannibal Grimaldi and his son André. Both, however, refused to make an appearance, and were in consequence sentenced to death for contumacy, and their entire possessions con-

fiscated. To carry out the sentence the Marquis Dogliano, Governor of Nice, sent 2000 men to arrest them. André managed to escape, but his father, hoping for succour from Lewis XIII., shut himself up in the Castle of Tourettes, which, being less capable of defence than Bueil, was soon forced to surrender. Hannibal was taken, and then put to death by a Mussulman executioner. The count's last words were that he preferred death from the hand of a Moor to giving obedience to the dukes of Savoy. Thus ended the power of the Grimaldis of Bueil. André and his son Maurice both distinguished themselves in the service of France, and in 1690 the latter endeavoured to induce Lewis XIV. to get back his confiscated lands from the Duke of Savoy, but fruitlessly.

Thus Honoré, taught by his cousin's fate to be cautious, how he cast off the authority that was so galling to him, resolved to await a fit moment for his purpose, in the meanwhile supported by hope and the resolution taken to remain patient under the yoke of oppression. This resignation, however, after his remonstrances, seemed to anger Spain, and a rumour was spread that Honoré was about to form an alliance and contract a marriage with the enemies of their country. Ordered to present himself at Milan,

he effectively disproved the calumnies; and the king, in recognition of his fidelity, sent him in 1616 the order of the Golden Fleece.

Honoré, finding he had not even the pretence of power in Monaco, devoted himself for a time to the improvement of Mentone, which, situated within seven miles of Monaco, in a perfect position, surrounded by magnificent scenery, sheltered from the north by high mountains, its orange and lemon groves giving it an appearance of being always under the influence of summer, made it indeed a place well worthy of his care and notice.

At his request, on the 27th of August, 1617, Nicholas Spinola, Bishop of Ventimiglia, consecrated in Mentone the Capuchin Church, and on the 27th of May, 1619, the enlargement of the parish church of St Michael was commenced. When that was completed, he ordered the bastion to be constructed, which advances far into the sea on a rocky point, jutting out from the town, thus marking more distinctly the natural separation between the two bays.

About this time Honoré married Hippolyte Trivalce. This marriage into a family bound up in the interests of Spain quieted any suspicions that the king might have entertained. During all this time

Monaco was nothing more than a Spanish fortress, till at last, in 1635, there seemed a prospect of Honoré being extricated from his bondage. Through her quarrel with Austria, France sent her troops into the neighbourhood of Monaco. On the 16th of September, 1635, the Islands of Lérins were seized by Spain, and in June, 1636, France despatched a fleet of 60 vessels, under Henry of Lorraine, Count d'Harcourt, and the Archbishop of Bordeaux, with orders to retake the islands. They were to increase their force by joining the fleet that was already in the Mediterranean, commanded by the Marquis Pontcourlay, a nephew of Cardinal Richelieu. Besides this, Marshal de Vitry had orders to assemble troops, and to put them at the disposal of the admirals. Spain gave the command of her fleet to the Duke of Ferrandina, and it was anchored off Monaco, so as the better to defend the recently-conquered islands. After a few days the two fleets met off Mentone, and the Spanish suffered so severely that they were compelled to give way and retire towards Genoa.

Through the mediumship of his cousin, Henry Grimaldi, Seignior of Corbons, in Provence, and acting in the service of France, Honoré was enabled to enter into a secret understanding with that country. He

endeavoured, but failed, to conclude a treaty with the king, for Spain, having some suspicions of how matters were tending, increased their garrison in Monaco by 900 men. Honoré immediately made his cousin acquainted with this; fortunately the information arrived just in time to stop the treaty, which, had it been then signed, would have been the utter ruin of Honoré.

It was in the despatches that were written at this period on the subject of Monaco placing itself under the protection of France, that its seignior was first addressed and spoken of as the Prince of Monaco, though, as we have seen, the title was conferred on Augustin by Charles V. In one of these despatches addressed to Cardinal Richelieu by the Archbishop of Bordeaux, he states "Prince Honoré of Monaco" to be ready and willing to bind himself to France in any way the king desires, and also, if it were decided to lay siege to the place, he would do all in his power to contribute to its delivery. Pending Richelieu's reply, although preparations were being made for an attack, the dissensions and quarrels amongst those in command were so great and continuous, that it would have been impossible whilst this state of things lasted to have undertaken it, had orders been received to do so. Meanwhile, Spain did all in her power to enable

her to retain possession of the islands. They assembled a powerful fleet under Ferrandina, and took precautions that enabled them to defend themselves by land as well as by sea. They stored ammunition and provisions in large quantities in the islands. It was on their return from this work that the French attempted to surprise their fleet at the entrance to the port of Monaco; a terrible encounter took place, the vessels coming violently in contact at the mouth of the harbour; the wind blowing a gale rendered it impossible to manage them, and a scene of slaughter followed that, without giving victory to either side, brought death to many on both. The next day the French fleet met off Mentone; the Spanish advanced, hoping to seize their vessels, but the result was a complete defeat to themselves, many of their ships being sunk and others taken as prizes.

Richelieu's answer now arrived. It was dated the 29th of August, 1636. Unless a thorough understanding existed with a sufficiently powerful party within the walls, he considered an attack on Monaco most unadvisable, and even then to be well considered, bearing in mind the great increase in the Spanish garrison; and so far as Prince Honoré being ready to sign any treaty or agree to any convention, till he was

actually freed from Spain, it would be most unwise, and probably entail his complete destruction. Still, had it not been for their want of unity, Archbishop Sourdis would certainly have urged on an assault being made, so important did he consider the port of Monaco, that the risk of failure would not have deterred him; but it became out of the question with no two amongst the leaders that could agree.

Savoy rather added to the general division. The duke would have helped France if that step would not have raised difficulties in the way of his reconciliation with Spain, besides which he rather feared France obtaining so powerful a position on the borders of his own states, as the possession of Monaco would render the possession of Nice and Villafranca not only extremely desirable, but very possible, both places being situated between Monaco and Antibes.

Sourdis endeavoured to sound the duke as to his opinion, and the latter, knowing that Marshal Vitre had refused to grant troops for the purpose, thought himself safe in saying he approved of the project, but added that at least six or seven thousand men would be necessary to land, with ammunition and money in proportion, as well as having fresh troops ready to relieve the fatigued ones. Then he pointed out how

superior the Spanish navy was over the French, and finally drew such a hopeless picture of what the probable result would be, that the archbishop resigned his cherished dream, and gave up all further thought of an assault. It was now proposed to construct a fort at Turbia, by which they could command Monaco; this plan Richelieu highly approved of, but Honoré was greatly against such a step, and finally it likewise was abandoned. Fresh outbreaks amongst the chiefs began again, till at last Richelieu, much dissatisfied, gave up all thoughts of Monaco for the time being.

Again, after a short lapse of time, there seemed a chance of success, but only to be marred by their quarrels. The Spanish had withdrawn their fleets from the Lérins, and a council of war was being held at the Castle at Cannes to decide on the plan of attack, when a difference of opinion between Count d'Harcourt and Vitry led to high words. Archbishop Sourdis interfered, in the hope of reconciling them, when Vitry, his passion beyond control, turned round and struck Sourdis with his cane, and addressed him in most abusive language. The others, disgusted and indignant, abandoned the whole thing; the militia was disbanded, and the entire matter failed. Monaco might long

since have been under the protection of the French flag but for these dissensions amongst those appointed to organize the attack, the consequence was that all the winter was lost, and worse than lost, for the Spanish made good use of the time spent in inactivity by the French. The Duke of Ferrandina caused Monaco to be securely and powerfully garrisoned, being sure of every man in it, and keeping a vigilant watch. Monaco now felt the oppression that had for years past been weighing her down increase almost daily.

Honoré still managed to keep up communication with France, and he gave them early information of all the enemies' movements. Small blame could be attached to the prince for this seeming treachery: he was not in a position to cast the yoke from off him boldly and openly; and Spain had so utterly failed in all her undertakings, that he after all but sought a liberty that he was entitled to, and which had been wrenched from him by unfair and unlawful measures.

CHAPTER IX.

SEPARATION FROM SPAIN.

On the 20th of June, 1638, Honoré II. lost his wife, the Princess Hippolite. She left one son only, who assumed the title of Marquis de Campana. Honoré was now called on by Spain not only to give up his implied neutrality, but by some useful act to prove his fidelity to the king. Thus forced to practice deceit, he found it very galling, but he did not dare openly to show any resentment or even discontent. Yet his uncle, Prince Valdetare, who still lived, began to doubt his nephew's genuineness towards Spain, though he himself was as devoted to her cause as ever; and with the hope of binding him still more securely, he exerted his influence to induce him to marry his son Hercule to a young princess of the house of Spinola, her father, Luca Spinola, being one of the most zealous partisans the Spanish had in Italy; his fortune, which was immense, was derived from lands in the kingdom of Naples, and, as the husband of the Princess Aurelia,

Hercule would be heir to these great possessions ; and Prince Valdetare thought he might pause before breaking the golden chain that would thus bind him to Spain. Honoré did not feel in a position to refuse this offer, as by doing so he would have greatly increased his uncle's already aroused suspicions ; therefore the marriage took place, and Spain felt satisfied that the Prince of Monaco had given up the wish of severing his fortunes from her, supposing him ever really to have desired it.

At length the Islands of Lérins were retaken by the French, and the Spanish forces retired to Monaco, which still formed a stronghold for them, and continued to do so, for the three following years. Honoré again endeavoured, through his cousin de Corbons, to induce the French to attempt the taking of Monaco by assault. His revenue was now next to nothing, the drain on him from Spain being enormous ; commerce being interrupted by war, the port dues were terribly reduced, and what did accrue through that means was seized on by the Spanish governor.

Honoré was little better than a prisoner in his own territory, and yet on him devolved the entire expenses of supporting a garrison that watched over him as a prison-guard; and, in order to meet this, Mentone

and Roccabruna were compelled to pay large contributions.

Richelieu, now that it had become impossible, gave his consent to Monaco being taken by assault. Spain was too well on her guard, and the Duke of Savoy again became an obstacle, when the proposition to attack it on the land side was made; but Honoré's release was now not very far off.

On the 11th of September, 1639, Honoré went to Nice in order to pay a mark of respect to the cardinal, Prince Maurice of Savoy, who was recognized as ruler, though the widow of Victor Amadeus I., Christine, Princess-royal of France, had been appointed regent by her husband's will. The cardinal had received a thousand Spanish troops to garrison the town, so that Honoré's visit excited no doubts as to his fidelity, though had they known that his journey was taken with the view of sounding the feelings of those he was to meet, and that he never wearied of endeavouring to find a safe escape from their yoke, the Spanish would not have been so thoroughly at rest.

The war now being carried on beyond the Ligurian coasts, the withdrawal of the Spanish troops from there was a matter of necessity, and, nothing doubting, they took from Monaco all that could be spared in

common safety ; thus the garrison was so considerably diminished that Honoré lost no time in communicating to Henry de Corbons the intelligence, which he considered of sufficient importance to hope that it might lead at last to the desired end. Henry de Corbons at once proceeded to Péronne to make arrangements for a secret treaty with France, which was quickly done, and on the 14th of September, 1641, it was signed at Péronne by Richelieu, and afterwards ratified by the king. This treaty placed the principality under the armed protection of France, included her in all treaties of peace, and gave certain titles, honours, and privileges to the Prince of Monaco and his successors. But this treaty was not to be effective or made known till Honoré had freed himself from Spanish dominion, and the French could enter Monaco.

Notwithstanding the great precautions taken to keep all communication held between Prince Honoré and the French Court secret, the Milanese government began to have their suspicions aroused, through Cardinal Maurice of Savoy ; who having heard that French vessels with troops and ammunition were being prepared, sent and warned Count Siruela, the Governor of Milan, of Honoré's infidelity. The count sent secret messengers immediately to Monaco, to put

Captain Caliente, Commandant of the town, on his guard. Honoré, perceiving how closely he was watched, took the precaution of sending to Count d'Alais, to stop his taking any further step for the moment; this forethought saved Honoré; for finding nothing was going on, Captain Caliente was completely deceived, and wrote to Milan saying there was no occasion to doubt Prince Honoré, for he was, if possible, more Spanish than himself, but that should he see anything likely to prove him wrong in his judgment, he would at once arrest the prince and his son, and send them as prisoners to Milan. This letter by some fortunate means fell into Honoré's hands, which caused him to take double care, though at the same time it increased his longing for freedom. There were four people in whom Honoré placed unbounded confidence, and all proved well worthy of it: his son Hercule, Marquis de Campana; Jerôme Rey, Captain of the guards; John Brigati, secretary; and the parish priest, Pachiero. The attempt was to be made on the 13th of November, 1641; on that day the greater portion of the already reduced garrison was to proceed to Nice, where it was to be met by fresh troops, who would then proceed to Monaco, thus for the time intervening between the departure and the arrival there would be but 210 men

in the place; and these Honoré on the day in question managed to reduce, by sending some to Roccabruna, under the plea of gathering the taxes, which were to be devoted to their pay; never very regularly received, and then rarely in full.

Nine days previous to the memorable 13th M. de Pachiero called his flock together and commanded a nine days' devotion, to be spent in praying God and St Dévote to shield them from the still talked-of attack by the French, and in order to render it feasible for all the inhabitants to join in it, he appointed the night as their time of assembling. Thus did the priest do his part, as by this seeming zeal he turned aside any suspicion the Spanish may have entertained, and at the same time he enabled Honoré to be free from any fear of interruption at an hour when he could best make his preparations and form his plans. This *neuvaine* began on the 4th of November.

On the 10th thirty Mentonaises were introduced into the town. On the plea of their having been found with arms upon them, which the government of Spain had prohibited, Honoré caused them to be arrested and brought to Monaco as prisoners. Thus by this *ruse* he secured to himself thirty trusty adherents, who were, moreover, in league with others left in

Mentone, who were only waiting for the signal to act. On the night of the 11th—12th Honoré invited the principal officers and people of the place to a supper, which was most sumptuous, the viands and wines being of the most costly and finest description; there were upwards of 100 guests. After they had done full justice to the repast, Honoré rose, and left the hall they were in; in a few minutes he returned, accompanied by the thirty Mentonaises, and then in the presence of all he disclosed his secret; after which he asked them to be true to him and themselves, and to render him the devotion he required. With the exception of two or three, who, either from fear or interest, clung to Spain, they all swore to fight with the last drop of their blood for their prince and liberty.

Honoré then, for fear of betrayal, had those who would not act with him temporarily imprisoned, and after that necessary precaution being taken, the prince, in a speech he addressed to those around him, pointed out the oppression they were compelled to endure, the slavery they were subject to, and the bright future that awaited them under the protection of the French flag. Then, in the enthusiasm and excitement of the moment, they took down weapons and armour that hung around the walls, and arming themselves with

them, they prepared to separate for the night, choosing the moment to go out when they would be able, unnoticed, to mix in the crowd that was leaving the church, and so enter their respective homes.

In the morning an incident happened which ended by their being *quitte pour la peur* only, but which might have led to serious consequences. A Spanish page brought to Jerôme Rey a letter he had picked up in the corridor of the palace, which proved to be Count d'Alais' reply to Honoré's last communication. The boy could not read or speak French, but the fear was that other eyes might have seen it; however nothing disastrous followed, though during the whole day and night the dread of what might still happen weighed heavily on them.

At length, at break of day on the 13th, the drum beat which announced the departure of the Spanish troops for Nice. All the requisite orders for the day's enterprise had been delivered over night. The prince had the forces at his command divided into three. He was himself to attack the principal post at the head of fifty men; this was the entrance to the fortress. His son Hercule, with thirty men, and Jerôme Rey, with twenty, were to sustain the attack on the opposite side, whilst John Monléon, Captain of Mentone, who

had gathered 200 trusty Mentonaises to help his prince, was to march towards Monaco by the pathless portions of the mountains, and remain hidden with his men behind the gates of the castle till the signal was given for him to enter. The *curé's* part still continued the same, to keep his flock praying till the attack had been made. The sermon he delivered that night was the longest ever given by mortal man; he went on and on, and then when his strength would not admit of his saying more, he set the congregation to sing; he fought in his way for his little country as valiantly as the bravest soldier amongst them. When for a moment the singing ceased and all was still in the church, the firing sounded out clear and distinct amidst the shouts and yells of triumph from the victorious side. Dismay and consternation spread in a moment amongst the hundreds that, without waiting for blessing or dismissal, rushed out to inquire into the cause of such sounds at that usually peaceful hour. The confusion for a time was great, but it did not last, as the skirmish, for it was little more, was over; the Spanish sentinels then, surprised at their posts, fought obstinately, and Captain Caliente, old as he was, bravely defended himself; but it was useless, numbers soon overpowered them. The Mentonaises,

under Captain Monléon, entered the town, and the garrison had to lay down their arms and submit. Several were killed on both sides. Prince Honoré at once caused the fire to be lighted that was to be the signal of victory to a little ship sent by Count d'Alais for the purpose of learning the earliest news. All was joy now in the town; those who had been kept in ignorance of events, on learning what had taken place with one voice rendered thanks to God and their prince for their freedom, which had been won so rapidly and so cheaply. The priest and prince embraced each other when they met, and that morning hope and joy reigned in every breast.

On the following day Honoré despatched a messenger to Antibes to let his cousin, Henry de Corbons, know the fortunate result of their enterprise. Cardinal Maurice, on learning of the Spanish defeat, sent from Nice to try and dissuade Honoré from allowing the French to enter Monaco, and promising him in the king's name redress for all his wrongs if he remained attached to Spain; but Honoré had yearned too long for his release to allow of any argument inducing him to resign it now he had won it.

On the 18th of November the French, 500 strong, entered Monaco; the town was decorated with flowers

and flags, and the people gave every possible proof of their delight, and showed their welcome to their new masters.

Cardinal Trivulce, Honoré's brother-in-law, entered into negotiations with him, to induce him to remain true to Spain, but the prince replied that it was too late, and in the presence of the garrison he removed from his neck the order of the Golden Fleece, and handing it, with a letter which he had written, to Count Siruela, Governor of Milan, he desired both might be sent to him; he then took the white scarf, and declared himself under the protection of France. In the letter he addressed to Siruela, he said, that in returning to his Catholic Majesty the order of the Golden Fleece, he hoped it might be available for some other who might serve the king with more happiness, but not with more fidelity, than he had served him himself. This was dated from Monaco on the 18th of November, 1641.

When the Spanish troops left Monaco they were taken to Finale. The prince behaved very liberally to them, providing them with necessary food for the voyage at his own expense, and paying them liberally. Some few, who had married into Monacian families, chose to renounce their country and remain where

they were. Traces of Spanish blood are still frequently seen amongst the Monacians, and some of the best families in the place are descended from this period. For eighty years the kings of Spain had been true friends to the Grimaldis, but for the thirty years that followed they proved little else than despotic tyrants.

After their departure the Monacians made a vow that they would, on the 21st of November in every year, celebrate the commemoration of their liberty by a solemn procession in the town; which vow is religiously kept to the present day.

The loss of Monaco to Spain was soon followed by that of Portugal and Catalonia. Nice shortly afterwards was besieged by the French, and taken from them; thus it seems, with nations as with people, troubles and losses do not come singly.

In April, 1642, Honoré II. and his son made their first visit to France. They arrived on the 25th of the month, at Narbonne, where they had an interview with Cardinal Richelieu, who at that moment was dangerously ill; from there they went to Leucate, where they met with a magnificent reception from the governor, and on the following day they proceeded to Perpignan, and at a few leagues from where Lewis XIV. was encamped they were met by the king's carriages.

The king at that time was preparing for an expedition against Spain. The treaty of Peronne was now ratified; by it the king undertook, in consideration of the oppression Honoré II. stated himself to be suffering under from Spain, to protect the prince, his family, subjects, and possessions from all that might offend them. 500 French troops were to remain in garrison at Monaco, the officers to be appointed by the king, Honoré to be himself captain and governor, as should also be his heirs and successors to the principality, and to hold the same authority as other governors did in France. The prince was to keep the keys of the town. In the absence of the prince a lieutenant was to be appointed, and as the first to act in that capacity the king nominated Henry de Corbons. The French garrison to take the oath of fidelity to the prince and to swear that they held the place for him and his successors; the garrison to be maintained by France. The Prince of Monaco to be remembered and included in all treaties or truces. The tax levied on ships passing Monaco to be still paid by French vessels, and a few galleys were to be stationed off Monaco by the king to issue the payment of the dues. In order to save time to ships leaving Marseilles, he placed a receiver of taxes in that town for ships intending to

pass Monaco, and if they had paid the due, to show they had done so, they were to fire a gun and hoist the Grimaldi flag.

Prince Honoré was received by Lewis XIII. with every mark of distinction and the greatest cordiality. On the day following his arrival he was invited into the king's chamber, and Lewis invested him with the order of St Michael; and then, inviting him to accompany him to the chapel, he drew from the pocket of his jacket the order of the Holy Ghost, which decorating the prince with, he said: 'My cousin, I do not treat you in the usual form, by seeking all the required ceremonies for creating a knight; also you are not looked on as others, and I am satisfied that it should be known that your merit and my inclination induce me to do this, so that the one may be honoured and the other you may be assured of. Above all, remember that the King of Spain has never given the order of the Golden Fleece in France as I give you the order of the Holy Ghost in Spain.'

Honoré II. passed two nights and three days at the camp at Perpignan, and on his taking leave the king invited him to visit him in Paris

* It will be remembered that the king was at that time at Perpignan, a Spanish province conquered by Lewis XIII.

during the coming carnival. The prince accepted the invitation, and returned to Narbonne, where he received from M. de Chavigny, secretary of state, letters-patent conferring on him the duchy-peerdom of Valentinois, and the Marquisate of Baux for his son, with extensive lands in Provence, the whole forming an income of 75,000 francs, in compensation for the estates in Naples and Spain which had been confiscated by his Most Catholic Majesty. Prince Honoré received besides, a box, studded with diamonds, containing two portraits of Lewis XIII. A French vessel bore him back to Monaco, where he met with an enthusiastic reception from his subjects, on the 23rd of June, 1642.

Again, on the 6th of the following November, Honoré left his principality, and with his son proceeded to Paris, where the dignity of Duke and Peer of France was publicly conferred on him. His son was to receive certain honours and orders on his attaining the proper age; meanwhile the king made him captain over a company of gendarmes with a pension. In order to reward the services of Jérome Rey, John Monléon,

* The present Mayor of Mentone is a descendant of this John Monléon, Captain of Mentone.

and John Brigate, he granted to all three of them, together with their families, letters of nobility and naturalization. Further he, in January, 1643, gave the power of succession to the female line for the duchy of Valentinois, failing heirs male, but in that case the peerage was to become extinct. He also promised to stand sponsor to the infant son of Hercule and the Princess Aurelia Spinola, but before being able to fulfil this latter promise, Lewis XIII. died, on the 14th of May, 1643. On the 28th of April, just previous to the king's death, Honoré, after six months' absence, returned to his principality.

Anne of Austria caused the young king, her son, Lewis XIV., to write to the Prince of Monaco the following letter, touching the christening of Hercule's son :—'My cousin, the late king my lord and father, having last year promised to give his name to your grandson, and it not having been done during his life, I shall have much pleasure in its being done in my name; it is therefore by the advice of the queen-regent, my mother, that I write to my cousin, Count d'Alais, to proceed to you for that purpose.'

The christening took place at Monaco on the 13th of October, 1643, with great splendour, Count

d'Alais standing as sponsor for the king, and Queen Anne being represented by the Countess de la Guiche. The child received the name of Lewis.

Honoré obtained permission to coin his own money, and on the 18th of October Lewis XIV. admitted the gold and silver coins bearing the effigy and arms of the Prince of Monaco into France. They bore the same name and corresponded in value with the French money. The refusal to take them was to be punished by a fine of 500 francs. On the 23rd of October, 1646, Prince Honoré left again for his third visit to France. He remained six months in Paris, returning to Monaco on the 5th of May, 1647.

During this period he made good use of his time, learning such things and noting all that he thought would be beneficial to himself and his subjects. He likewise obtained several privileges and grants from the king. He also received a gift of 12 bronze and 12 iron cannons for the armament of Monaco.

Spain had not even yet resigned all hope of winning back this important and useful little principality. She tried many ways, and used both bribes and threats, to succeed. At length, thinking that perhaps the advantages still lay with the French, she employed a man named Gastaldo, of Nice, and sent him in the

name of the Viceroy of Naples, and gave him power to offer such enormous bribes that Spain indulged in the hope of succeeding this time in withdrawing Honoré from his newly-chosen master. But the prince was proof against the temptation, and in order to show his fidelity to France, he caused Gastaldo to be arrested, denouncing him publicly. He was tried, tortured, and then executed at the extreme point of the Cape Martin, the whole proceeding being a needless display of cruelty. This happened in 1650.

In the time of repose that Monaco now enjoyed, the palace was restored, a fact which is commemorated by an inscription on a marble slab, which is still to be seen in the principal court of the palace.

In 1651, on the coming of age of the King of France, Honoré again went to Paris to take part in the festivities. During his absence a terrible sorrow fell on him. His only son, Hercule, Marquis de Baux, had gone with his wife and children to the convent of Carnolès at Mentone, and was amusing himself in the gardens with his officers and attendants, firing with pistols at a target, when having called on one of those near him to show what he could do, the young man's pistol caught in his shoulder belt and went off; the ball wounded two people, and struck the Marquis de

Baux in the spine. He was carried back to Monaco, where, after all that art could do being attempted in vain, he died the following day, declaring the innocence of the officer, and begging no steps should be taken against him in any way.

The young Marquis left four daughters and one son, Count Carladez, godson to Lewis XIV.

The grief of Honoré II. was intense when he heard of the terrible fate that had befallen his son. He returned to Monaco instantly, arriving there on the 18th of October. The whole principality mourned the death of the young heir, and his widow, whose sorrow was shared by so many, now first caused the church and convent of Laghetto * to be brought into notice, by the rich gifts she there offered at the shrine of Our Lady, to propitiate her prayers for the repose of the soul of her husband.

Honoré II. now assumed for the first time the rank of *Serene Highness*, having hitherto been *Excellency* only. In order to show some gratitude for the honours heaped on him by Lewis XIII. and his son, Lewis XIV., the prince in his will desired that his successors should never take themselves from under the protection of the crown of France, and ever to show their zeal and

* Appendix D.

fidelity to the king. This will was by his special desire registered in Paris on the 10th of April, 1656.

On the 27th of June, 1656, Christine of Sweden, who had abdicated from pure ostentation, finding it did not repay her, she being neither talked of nor thought of any more, began to desire the possession again of her rejected crown, and now wrote to Prince Honoré asking him to receive her at Monaco, in case accident drove her near that port; but her voyage never taking place, no casualty occurred, and her throne was never regained.

In the treaty of the Pyrenees, concluded in 1659, Lewis XIV., according to the treaty of Péronne, stipulated for the restitution of Honoré's Spanish possessions, and all he had enjoyed whilst under the protection of Spain was to be restored to him without delay.

On the 30th of March, 1660, his grandson Lewis, Count Carladès, now heir to the principality, was married to Charlotte Catherine de Gramont, daughter of Anthony, Duke de Gramont, a marshal and peer of France.

On the 10th of January, 1662, Honoré II. died, at the age of sixty-five. His death was a source of universal mourning. Of a gentle disposition, thought-

ful for the happiness of his subjects, and anxious above all for their prosperity, he devoted himself to the improvement of his little state; he was just and merciful in his government, and but for the unnecessary death of Gastaldo, no stain or blot marks his escutcheon. He was remarkable for great personal beauty, as well as for a charm of manner, that perhaps belonged especially to that age, but which seemed with him to be more natural than acquired. The love that surrounded him in life followed him to the grave.

CHAPTER X.

LEWIS I.—ANTHONY I.

LEWIS I. was but nineteen years of age when he succeeded his grandfather as Prince of Monaco. Honoré had some time previous to his death remarked a recklessness of disposition and a love of adventure in his grandson, that gave rise to much anxiety, especially as he knew well the temptations to which he would be exposed at the court of Lewis XIV.; but he took comfort in the hope that his marriage would steady him, and induce him to think of the duties that devolved on him more than the mere gratification of pleasure.

Unfortunately his wife, Charlotte de Gramont, a beautiful woman, and full of talent, was attached to the household of the Duchess of Orleans, Henrietta of England, and there in the centre of every description of intrigue and folly she rendered herself famous by her own misconduct.

In 1665, war was declared against England by

Holland and France, and Prince Lewis, unable to remove his wife from Paris, and pained by the occurrences he was forced to witness, seized this opportunity to get away himself, and solicited the king's permission to join the French troops as a volunteer. Lewis left, accompanied by his brother-in-law, Count de Guiche, some love intrigue rendering it advisable for him to leave the country for a time.

A new life now dawned for the young prince. By the treaty of the 27th of April, 1662, Lewis XIV. had promised to aid the Dutch with his fleet under the command of the Duke of Beaufort, Grand-admiral of France; but the king was not sincere in his proffered assistance; he cared little for success to others if no personal advantage accrued to himself; therefore he took care his ships were not engaged in the conflict: moreover, he had designs of his own, and whilst seeming to mediate between the two first maritime powers of Europe, he in truth desired that they might so destroy one another, that the French navy would then stand out unrivalled. Thus contrary winds—or wishes—prevented the Mediterranean fleet doing more than making its way very slowly to La Rochelle, whilst Ruyter was doing all the work alone. The Prince of Monaco and Count de Guiche, wearied

of waiting for the Duke of Beaufort to arrive, and longing for action, volunteered their services to the Dutch. They were received on board the *Duivenworde*, commanded by the Chevalier Terlong, and took part in the famous battle of Texel. The English fleet being under the command of George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, and Prince Rupert, and the Dutch under Admiral Ruyter. From the 13th to the 16th of June the fighting lasted.

Count Estrades, French ambassador, in his despatch dated the 17th of June, giving a detailed account of the action, speaks in terms of praise and admiration of the obstinate courage displayed by the Prince of Monaco and the Count de Guiche, and especially at the moment when a fire broke out on the *Duivenworde*, which having defied all efforts to extinguish it now gained the sails; the Prince and de Guiche, seeing how utterly hopeless it was to think of saving the ship, took off their outer clothing, and prepared to jump into the sea should the fire, as they every minute expected, reach the gunpowder; but at that moment they were rescued by a Dutch vessel, the *Little Holland*, having time only to spring on board and get out of danger before the explosion took place. The ship was commanded by

a brother of Ruyter's, and was on her way at the time to help other vessels in distress.

They were taken by the *Little Holland* on board the admiral's ship: Ruyter received them with a warm welcome, and provided them with clothes. In the last day's battle Prince Lewis and his brother-in-law were to be found always where most danger was; the count was wounded in the shoulder and arm.

The court was at Fontainebleau at the time Estrades' despatch arrived. The news of the bravery displayed by the French nobility, who had by their courage partially covered the king's want of faith, in not permitting Beaufort's fleet to join the Dutch, was received with the deepest pleasure.

Lewis XIV. was too delighted at his designs being thus cloaked over not to be lavish of his praises and thanks to those who had distinguished themselves, and his outspoken eulogy on Lewis I. and de Guiche induced many others to join them in Holland; but the peace of Breda put an end to the war, and the volunteers returned to Paris.

Prince Lewis found everything connected with his domestic affairs as bad on his return as when he left. Disgusted and angered beyond bearing, he went

to Monaco, and endeavoured to occupy his mind with administrative reform, a very necessary matter in the principality, more especially as he was so constantly absent. At the time of his succession, at the request of his wife, he founded in Monaco the convent of The Visitation, which was to be regulated according to the constitutions of St Francis of Sales. He now commenced the building of the beautiful church belonging to the convent, which is situated at the extremity of the rock * towering high above all other buildings, and rendering it a conspicuous object in the distance. In 1678, the year in which the Princess Charlotte died, Pope Clement X. accorded a bull of constitution to the convent, limiting the number of nuns to thirty-three. This building is the only trace left at Monaco of Lewis' wife.

But these occupations failed to create sufficient interest to enable Lewis to forget his domestic troubles; and in order the better to do so, he gave himself up to a life of dissipation that exceeded even that led by his beautiful wife, and he thereby gained a somewhat doubtful celebrity.

* On inquiring one day at the Palace for this church, I was directed to go 'au bout des états' and I should find it: the principality of Monaco consisting now of little else than the rock on which the town is built.

Hortense Mancini, Duchess of Mazarin, exiled from France, went to Rome; Lewis, who was more blinded by jealousy throughout his connection with her than love, followed her there, and then on from place to place whithersoever she went, till, finally, they reached London, where Lewis I. became the rival of Charles II. Great exertions were used to separate Mancini from the prince, and place her as favourite to the king, in the room of the Duchess of Portsmouth. A battle with gold was now fought between the King of England and the Prince of a miniature principality: whichever could bring the greatest supply of ammunition into the field was certain to be the conqueror. Charles had withdrawn an allowance of £4000 a year from the duchess, which Lewis immediately granted her, thus well-nigh ruining both prince and principality.

Fortunately at this time his wife died, and his passion dying also, a re-action took place, and he returned to Monaco, determined to devote himself to the welfare of his state.

On the 23rd of December, 1678, repealing the contradictory laws then in vogue, he promulgated a code, divided into four books, containing civil and criminal laws, and laws regulating the home and rural

police; the whole, notwithstanding the severity of the penal laws, is considered the production of a clever and practical mind. The laws against immorality were especially severe. Rape was punished by death; adultery entailed punishment on the man, varying, according to the woman's age, from two years at the galleys, to death. The authors, propagators, and hawkers of libels or immoral songs were punished at the discretion of the auditor-general, even by death if the case was considered a grave one.

Prince Lewis had two sons and one daughter; the eldest, Anthony, Duke of Valentinois, who entered the French service when still very young, was married on the 14th of June, 1688, in the presence of the King of France and the whole court, to Mary of Lorraine, daughter of Count Armagnac, master of the horse of Lewis XIV. The Prince of Monaco had hitherto held no especial rank at the French court; he had no status either as a foreign prince or a prince of the realm; this frequently led to vexations and annoyances, as owing to the jealousies then general amongst the court circle, it became a question of much greater importance than it would have been at an earlier period. Lewis XIV. was extremely rigid in all points of ceremony, and this made the frivolous and selfish

courtiers that surrounded him, and who to win the royal favour would have risked anything, equally severe in all matters of etiquette; and they, in consequence, attached more value than ever to position, each holding their own with the extremest tenacity, though if they could gain one inch in advance of another no scruples would arise to prevent them.

The Lorraines had obtained a position as relations of the reigning Prince of Lorraine; therefore when Prince Lewis married his son to Mary of Lorraine he did not fail to seize this opportunity to make a claim, not based, however, on this connection, but as the recognized reigning Prince of Monaco. The claim was admitted by Lewis XIV., and on the 14th of June, 1688, he recognized Lewis' demands, and granted him the status he coveted.

The Duke of Valentinois' marriage proved most unfortunate and unhappy. The duchess was beautiful and fascinating, but without mind or virtue; whilst her husband was of a temperament to feel this bitterly, being himself all that was honourable, brave, and high-minded. Thus, like his father, he was driven from his home by the utter hopelessness of ever remedying the evil that caused him such deep regret. He therefore took part in the military expeditions which

at that period offered occupation to as many as chose to accept it. His first engagement was at the siege of Philipsburg, which surrendered to the Dauphin on the 29th of October, 1688. The battle of Fleurus in 1690 was the next occasion that offered for him to distinguish himself; the Duke of Luxemburg commanded the army; the victory was the greatest ever won by the troops of Lewis XIV. In 1691 the king himself went into the field, and the town of Mons was taken; and in 1692 the king in person conducted the siege of Namur; it was then that Lewis XIV. was an eye-witness to the bravery that distinguished Anthony, Duke of Valentinois, nor did he fail to note it.

In 1698 the embassy to Rome, a very delicate and important mission at that moment, was offered to Lewis I. of Monaco. The question as to the succession in Spain was then on the eve of being raised. The King of France declared himself heir in right of his wife, notwithstanding his having signed on his marriage with Maria Theresa an act of renunciation. Yet not really believing he could gain possession of the entire inheritance, he wished to carry out the second project of division, which had succeeded to the one first proposed by William III. of England; as by

the former France was allotted Guipuzcoa, the Two Sicilies, and Lorraine, with portions of Tuscany and Liguria. Rome would necessarily have a voice in the matter; and the king knew well that he would there have to grapple with the influence Austria would bring to bear, as she desired the possession of Spain in its integrity. Lewis XIV. and his advisers thought, therefore, that by making choice of the Prince of Monaco as ambassador, they were more likely to gain their desired ends than by sending a Frenchman, as Lewis I. with his Italian nature would be more fitted to cope with Italian cunning.

The Prince of Monaco accepted the mission; he was then at Monaco, but immediately proceeded to Paris to receive his instructions, and then left for Rome. His entry was made with a pomp and prodigality never before witnessed; and his vanity, at all times easily touched, was so gratified by the wonder and amazement he created, that he went on, heedless of results, committing every description of extravagance and excess. The enormous outlay that attended his embassy to Rome very nearly ruined Monaco, which had to bear the whole burthen of the expense. His carriage-horses were shod in silver, and the shoes were fastened with only one nail, in order

that they might be lost with greater facility. Funds failing, the prince, who exercised absolute power in his principality, forced the communes to give up to him all taxes received from the oil mills, and which belonged to them. This cession, which was to have been merely temporary, was notwithstanding continued to be enforced till the Revolution. However, this was but coming events casting their shadows before them.

Lewis proved successful in his mission. On his arrival he put himself into immediate communication with the cardinals most favourable to France, and winning over the Spanish ambassador, they all worked in unity for the same end. It was a delicate point to handle, and required all the address and skill of these wily diplomatists to insure success.

The war between France and Spain had, with occasional and short cessations, existed for upwards of a century and a half. The marriage of Lewis XIV. with Maria Theresa had for a time drawn the two countries together into something approaching friendly relations, but it was very transitory, and in the end helped to furnish matter for fresh dispute. Every step France had gained had been two retrograde ones for Spain; and her dismemberment seemed now im-

minent, Lewis XIV. having resolved to disregard the act of renunciation imposed on Maria Theresa at her marriage. He stated that he had just cause for doing so, as Spain having failed to pay the dowry to his queen, which she was to receive as compensation for resigning her claims to the crown of Spain, the chief clause in the act had been unfulfilled, thus, in fact, rendering the whole transaction null and void.

Charles II. was now thought dying, and Lewis XIV. therefore devoted his whole mind to this important question. Austria had powerful claims through the queen; the king likewise favoured the Archduke Charles's pretensions; but French influence was brought to bear on him, and he was kept from taking any decided step in his favour; he also felt, in his wavering weak nature, a clinging to the fundamental law, which enabled women to succeed to the throne and transmit their rights to their heirs; though at the same time he desired to maintain the independence of Spain, as well as her laws, and this would fail if the two crowns of Spain and France were to be borne on one head. In this state of perplexity Charles resolved to appeal to the pope for his advice, and by it to be guided, considering it as he did to be infallible.

Cardinal Porto-Carrero, learning the step Charles had determined to take, took measures to let Lewis of Monaco become instantly acquainted with it; who immediately hastened to get those cardinals who were devoted to France around the pope. Thus Innocent XII., biased by the views entertained by the friends of Lewis XIV., naturally adopted them, and replied to Charles's letter by advising him to seek in one of the sons of Maria Theresa his heir; the condition being enjoined that the new King of Spain should renounce for himself and his descendants all claim to the throne of France. On receiving the pope's answer, King Charles caused his intentions to be made known to Lewis XIV.; but the King of France still doubted so complete a realization of his hopes; events, however, proved he had no cause for distrust.

From the moment Porto-Carrero learnt the tenor of the pope's letter, he, in conjunction with the minister Ubella, caused Charles to make his will, declaring the Duke of Anjou, the dauphin's second son, and grandson of Maria Theresa, heir to the Spanish crown: failing him or his direct heirs, it was to go by the regular law of inheritance. Four weeks after signing this will, on the 1st of November, 1700, Charles II.

died. The Duke of Anjou ascended the throne, and became the root of the Bourbon dynasty, who reign over Spain to this day.

Innocent XII. died a few days before the King of Spain, and Prince Lewis now directed all his energies for the election of a pope favourable to France. At length Cardinal Albani ascended the papal throne, and anxiety was over, as he had been one of the late pope's advisers on the occasion of the reply being sent to Charles of Spain's letter.

After Albani's installation, a breach was on the point of taking place between the courts of Rome and Paris, but for the moderation of Lewis XIV., who smoothed the troubled waters, ruffled by the following incident. Lewis I. had contracted a close friendship with a Roman of noble birth, named Vaïni, chiefly because he considered him a useful partisan. By his influence Lewis obtained from Pope Innocent XII. the title of prince for Vaïni, which gave rise to jealousy amongst a great many, but as long as Innocent lived they dared not give vent to their feelings; but Albani was no sooner pope than Vaïni was tormented in every possible way. At last one day his house was attacked by a mob, and he sought personal safety at the French embassy; but the people followed

him and invaded the Prince of Monaco's house, who at once armed his people, and desired them to disperse the mob; this was done at last, but not before several people were seriously wounded. Prince Lewis immediately laid a complaint before the new pope, and demanded redress for the insult that had been offered to him. No reply coming, Lewis in hasty anger quitted Rome, at the same time acquainting the king with the matter. Lewis XIV., however, wrote to him, at once thanking him for the zeal he had shown in his service, and for his honour; but remembering Clement XI.'s friendly disposition towards him, as Cardinal Albani, he thought it more expedient to cultivate it than to destroy it, and so ordered Prince Lewis to return instantly to Rome, and personally to lay the whole matter before the sovereign pontiff, when no doubt he would receive prompt and ample satisfaction. Lewis I. returned immediately, and at once sought an interview with Clement XI., when full redress was given, as the king had anticipated.

Lewis I. died in Rome, very soon after the settlement of this affair, in January, 1701. He left two sons and one daughter. His life had been prosperous, but not happy; it had been marred first by his own wife, and then by his daughter-in-law. His own

daughter was married to Charles de Crussol, Duke of Uzès, first peer of France; but marriages were not more fortunate with his children than himself, and this proved a most miserable one. The duchess was clever and of a gentle disposition, but her domestic trials passed those ordinarily met with. Death, fortunately however, very soon put an end to them: she was married in 1696, and died in 1700.

Lewis I. was at one time very nearly ruined through the reckless life his wife's conduct drove him to lead, and had not Charlotte de Gramont died, the probability is that history would have had nothing to relate of him but profligacy and extravagance, a tendency to both being inherent in him; as it is, however, he redeemed the follies he committed in the early part of his career, and proved himself to have a clear head, a reflective mind, and thus became a good though severe legislator.

Lewis' eldest son, Anthony, Duke of Valentinois, succeeded him. The first years of his reign were passed in struggling against the poverty to which the principality had been reduced by the extravagance of Prince Lewis in Rome, and at the same time endeavouring to aid France in the contest she had to maintain in order to keep hold of the Spanish crown.

It was not, however, till 1705 that the belligerents approached the principality; but the old question of limit had arisen previously to vex Anthony I. The Duke of Savoy, who had taken up the cause of Austria against France, drew the attention of that country to the valuable position of Monaco, and would gladly have induced them to besiege the place, if from no other feeling than that of animosity to the prince. Anthony was fully alive to this, and warned the French generals in time to avert any immediate disaster. In 1705 Marshal de la Feuillade crossed the Var at the head of 18,000 men and bombarded Nice, taking Villafranca, Montalban, and St Hospice, and blew up the Augustin tower. Monaco now proved a useful station, La Feuillade drawing from thence plentiful supplies, though at the cost of nearly exhausting their stores. At this time Anthony actively pushed on the work of fortifying the place more strongly, as far as his means admitted; he thus hoped to render the place capable of withstanding a siege. The cavalry was reinforced by two hundred, and M. de Paratte had orders to supply all that Monaco stood in need of; but these orders were more easily given than carried out, owing to the deficiency of the French stores.

Turbia at this juncture stood undefended, and though Prince Anthony urged on France the imperative necessity of sending troops there, it was impossible; she had none to spare. Orders were therefore given, in order to prevent its being a prize should it fall into the hands of the enemy, to destroy the fortifications. Even under these circumstances, Anthony could not quietly see it in the possession of Savoy, and he therefore solicited the King of France to make the place over to him, in which case he resolved to defend it as best he could. It would, likewise, if thus decided, set at rest the dispute between him and the Duke of Savoy as to the eternal question of limit.

The king, viewing the matter much in the same light, and being willing to do something in return for the fidelity with which the Grimaldis had served France, on the 15th of April, 1705, replied that it was with pleasure he was enabled to show his appreciation of his services by putting him in possession of Turbia. With the letter came the necessary documents conferring the town, castle, and territory of Turbia on Anthony of Monaco. Turbia remained a part of the principality till the peace of Utrecht, when the Duke of Savoy once more gained possession of it.

Now followed the battle of Turin, so disastrous in

its results to France, wresting from her all the conquests of five years' hard fighting. Nothing remained to her but Savoy, Suza, Perosa, and the country of Nice. It was under these adverse circumstances that the Prince of Monaco proved himself worthy of the friendship and protection accorded him by France. Marshal Tessé wrote to Anthony to tell him it was impossible to leave more than two battalions to garrison the place, that he had drawn from Montalban, Villafranca, and Sospello all the forces he dared, but he had given orders for troops and ammunition to be sent to Monaco, which was in a sadly distressed state, owing to the drain that the French army had been on it.

The Austrians and their allies now approached this part of the Rivièra; they made their first bivouac close to Mentone. Monaco, however, escaped a siege, the enemy merely forcing contributions from the places through which they passed that belonged to the principality. They marched on to Toulon and besieged it, but with such severe loss to themselves that they were forced to make a rapid retreat, again passing by Monaco, without, however, making any attempt to annoy it. The French, once more in possession of these districts, had all the roads that could be made available for an army to pass, destroyed,

preserving those of Castiglione and Mentone, which were passable to infantry only. The Castle of Mentone was fortified; and Monaco received a large supply of gunpowder, much having been used in blasting, when constructing the fortifications. An invasion from the Duke of Savoy was still dreaded, and M. de Montgeorges, commander in Nice, sent fifty dragoons to act as scouts. The whole summer was thus passed in watching and waiting, and winter came bringing no change; now a tolerable sense of security was felt, as the mountain paths became impassable in winter. The fear was for the future; if the enemy gained possession of Nice, they would certainly attack Monaco by sea and land, and thus force a surrender by famine. Money was scarcer than ever, and the whole maintenance of Monaco fell on its prince. France could give no aid, her own resources were well-nigh exhausted. In March, 1709, M. d'Artignan was sent to Monaco, to inform the prince that the garrison must again be reduced, and that the two battalions could not even be left. Still Anthony, careful of his interests, did not flinch from his fidelity; but he wrote a letter to M. de Chamillard, in which he mentions his conference with M. d'Artignan, states his own opinions as to the Duke of Savoy's intentions on Monaco, and

points out the serious mistake of leaving the Var open to the enemy; that Nice would be equally protected by the French army occupying the banks of the river; that if the troops were placed beyond it, Monaco would stand in need of abundant supplies, as the place would thus become isolated and left to depend on itself; help could not be sent to it by sea or land, as the enemy would naturally take possession of the Castle of Villafranca the moment they were permitted to cross the Var, thus rendering access to the rock as little possible by sea as by land.

Prince Anthony continues to say that he had spent 200,000 francs on the fortifications, but that had he been able to give only 50,000 more it would have rendered the fortress, no matter how small the garrison, impregnable; yet he still believed that even now it would only be forced to surrender by starvation. The corn M. d'Artignan had promised to send not having come, he urges strongly on M. de Chamillard to send some without delay. Salt meats and vegetables he intends, he says, to procure by the sale of his personal household possessions; already he had disposed of plate to the amount of 50,000 francs. He then concludes by begging M. de Chamillard to assure the king of his zeal and his devotion to his cause, and

that if the troops then in occupation of the place could be employed to greater advantage elsewhere, he would not waver a moment to take the axe, and with his own hand be the first to commence the demolition of the place; still he implores not to be abandoned, when he is doing all in his power to preserve the place for the king.

This letter would have been better had Prince Anthony omitted the latter passage; as Lewis XIV., no more than any one else, could believe in such unnecessary and unnatural enthusiasm. It was showing far more devotion and self-sacrifice for the King of France than for his own family or subjects, and displays a point in his character that must call forth more condemnation and contempt than praise.

The winter that now followed was one of the severest ever known in these regions, and is spoken of amongst the inhabitants to the present day. The night of the 13th—14th of February, the vines, lemon trees, and the greater portion of the orange and olive trees perished, creating a desolation past description.*

The Duke of Savoy's intentions again became

* If there happens to be a prospect of a frosty night in these districts it is a habit of the people to sit up, eagerly watching the effect produced on their trees; ruin to them being inevitable if the frost destroys them.

open to suspicion; he was making great yet secret preparations, but they were not for Monaco; the storm blew over, though ample preparations were made in case of an attack. France was now able to send reinforcements and provisions. Hostilities were carried on between Savoy and France till the conferences of Gertruydenberg, in 1710, and then followed, in 1712, the peace of Utrecht. Savoy now demanded that the Prince of Monaco should be shorn of his capital, and that the place should be ceded to the duke. The King of France however peremptorily refused this, and Anthony I. was included in the treaty which recognized the sovereignty of Monaco.

Turbia however was given back to the duke, who, now become King of Sicily, insisted on Prince Anthony taking the oath of allegiance to him for the 11-12ths of Mentone and of the whole of Roccabruna, in conformity with the acts of 1448 and 1477, which, since Claudine's death, the Princes of Monaco had refused to take. The question was submitted to the arbitration of England and France, and on the 22nd of June, 1714, the arbitrators met in Paris, Mr Prior acting for England, and M. Amelot de la Houssaye for France. They gave their decision in favour of the King of Sicily, declaring the Prince of Monaco bound

to recognize the king as his suzerain; that he held the 11-12ths of Mentone and the whole of Roccabruna direct from the Dukes of Savoy; that he must receive the investiture from the King of Sicily, and he must take the oaths of fidelity, as had done his predecessors, from 1448 till 1506.

Anthony I. had to submit, but it was done with great repugnance, and he managed to have the ceremony shorn of all that could hurt his pride. At last, the oaths were taken by proxy, the President Gourdon representing the prince. The ceremony took place at the Castle of Rivoli, about 10 miles from Turin, on the 12th of August, 1716. This recognition of vassalage was continued till 1841.

Anthony I. having only daughters by his marriage with Mary of Lorraine, and all hope of an heir being over, the prince resigned himself to the necessity of being succeeded by his daughter, Louisa Hippolyte; who, according to the will of John I., as his eldest daughter, was heiress to the principality. He now therefore sought a husband for her suited in rank and fortune, but not amongst the various branches of the House of Grimaldi, as, according to a clause in his ancestor's will, he was bound to do, so as to prevent the inheritance passing away from them. Yet An-

thony desired to perpetuate his name, and therefore made it an indispensable condition that his future son-in-law must adopt the name and arms of Grimaldi, and resign his own. The prince found it difficult to meet one with rank and fortune who would agree to this arrangement, receiving in return but the empty honour of being the husband of his wife. Thus, as a bribe, Prince Anthony obtained power from Lewis XIV. to divest himself of the duchy-peerdom of Valentinois, which in any event could not descend in the female line, and invest his daughter's future husband with it on the day of his marriage; but with this understanding, that if Anthony I. ever had any male issue of his own, his eldest son and his descendants were to succeed to the duchy, in which event the husband of Louisè Hippolyte would hold the rank of duke for his life only, his heirs assuming their father's own name and arms.

Numerous now were the pretenders to the young heiress' hand; but few of them had more than one of the necessary requisites. Monaco was in a state of utter penury; the debts left by Lewis I., in consequence of his prodigality at Rome and the outlays during the war, had completely drained all her sources. There were also the younger daughters to

provide for, and Anthony's brother, Francis Grimaldi, Abbot of Monaco, who in 1723 was created Archbishop of Besançon; he had to receive compensation for agreeing to cede his eventual rights to the Duchy of Valentinois; thus it became absolutely necessary that no ordinary wealth should be the portion of Louisa's future husband, as his money would be the only means by which these demands and debts could be met.

Count de Roney was the first who received any encouragement; and Anthony, on account of the French influence he brought to back him, was persuaded to give his consent; but by her marriage contract, Mary of Lorraine had also a voice in the matter; and, glad of an opportunity to thwart her husband, she refused, declaring M. de Roney's fortune to be insufficient. Then came, and with more success, James de Goyon, of Matignon, whose wealth was adequate, and whose position, according to his numerous titles and the enormous number of noteworthy ancestors, was unimpeachable; he was thus deemed worthy of the honour he sought; and on the 14th of October, 1715, his marriage with Louise Hippolyte Grimaldi was celebrated. Lewis XIV. died a few weeks previously. It was not till 1717

that James *Grimaldi* was acknowledged in France as a peer of the realm, owing to a dispute which arose out of jealousy amongst the legitimate princes, and those created by Lewis XIV.

In 1721 the Duchess of Valentinois received a visit from her cousin, the Marchioness de Créquy, and her husband. Nothing was spared to render their stay agreeable, and to prove the sincerity of the welcome accorded them. It is said that the Duke of Savoy, having fallen desperately in love with the young duchess, frequently went to Monaco armed with nothing more formidable than soft words, but the duchess, who was much attached to her husband, and not at all to the duke, could give him no better mark of her friendship than causing him during the whole time of his visits to be closely watched.

Anthony for the last fifteen years of his life remained at Monaco, where he died, in 1731, from gout, surrounded by his family and friends, who, together with his subjects, deeply and sincerely regretted him.

During his reign the town was greatly improved; a fort that he constructed in the place, still bears his name; and in 1713 he made the carriage-road by Cape Martin, of which little more than traces are left;

and is now only used by heavy carts carrying stones or other weighty materials.

On Anthony's death, Count de Matignon, as husband of the heiress of the principality, endeavoured to exercise authority, and hold the reins of government; but the population refused to submit to him, and recognized the Princess Louise only, taking the oaths of allegiance to her alone, and placing power entirely in her hands. The Duke of Valentinois therefore withdrew altogether, and went to Paris. The Princess' reign, however, was of short duration, and marked by no event: she died eleven months after her father, on the 2nd of December, 1731, at the age of thirty-four. Her loss was deeply felt, and the whole population mourned her truly. She ruled with a solicitude and gentleness that won the hearts of all her subjects.

In her, the house of Grimaldi became actually extinguished, and that of Matignon succeeded. She left several children, her eldest being but eleven years of age at the time of her death.

CHAPTER XI.

HONORÉ III.—THE REPUBLIC.—HONORÉ IV.

THE Duke of Valentinois was appointed his son's guardian till his majority, and as such he governed the principality. On the 14th of April, 1734, the magistrates of Monaco openly acknowledged him their sovereign prince, though the object for their doing so is by no means defined; especially as on Honoré III. coming of age James Matignon was simply recognized as Duke of Valentinois.

Not much is recorded of Honoré III.'s father, with the exception of his military services. He was present at the campaigns in Flanders; and he was sent to join the expedition against Spain, when France, in 1718, urged by England, declared herself, through Dubois, then minister, opposed to the Bourbon dynasty. Thus the blood spilt to place the Duke of Anjou on the throne inherited through his grandmother's claim, was all in vain. In the following year the endeavours of England to prevent Spain

gaining too much power were crowned with success; an army under Berwick was sent to render the Spanish fortresses useless, and to destroy the timber yards, where a fleet was being built.

The Duke of Valentinois was in this expedition with his regiment. The treaty of London, however, put an end to this war, and peace for twenty years followed.

Then broke out the war of succession in Austria, putting all Europe in arms; and Italy once more became the field of battle. In 1740 it reached the littoral; an engagement took place between the Prince of Conti and the Marquis of Suza, son of Charles Emmanuel; the echoes of the cannons resounded in the mountains that shelter Monaco.

In 1741 Marshal Maillebois made his appearance in Nice. The Bourbons seemed to be gaining the advantage at Villafranca and Turbia. Charles Emmanuel lost Savoy, Montferrat, Nice, Verceil, and Asti. The English fleet bombarded Genoa, Savona, Oneglia, Finale, and San Rémo. The principality of Monaco was looked on as the friend and ally of France, though the prince remained neutral. But in 1746, when the French suffered a defeat in Italy,

Mentone stood in fear of a bombardment, which, however, was averted through the ability displayed by her governor, Adhémar de Lantagnac.

Marshal de Maillebois, who had made his way successfully to Ventimiglia, now found himself forced to retreat. He took possession of the heights of Gorbio; but Charles Emmanuel sent the Austrian general, Gavani, with superior forces to drive him from so important a position. After three attacks he at length succeeded, but at the cost of his own life. Maillebois now beat back to Nice, and then on to Provence.

The allies now pursued the French, regaining their lost possessions, and Charles Emmanuel desired to attack Monaco, but the idea not being well received by Austria, was abandoned.

In 1747 Marshal Belleisle, together with the Marquis de Las Minas, resolved to invade Nice, and undertook to win back what France had lost in Italy. Las Minas landed at Mentone with re-inforcements from Spain, and made that place his head-quarters. Repulsed at the Col de l'Asiette, they returned again to the attack, and took possession of Castellar and Ventimiglia, between which two places the Spanish troops were then placed. They now resolved to attack

Turbia, as being a position of immense importance, but the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, put an end to their intentions.

During this period of trial to the French armies in Italy, Honoré III. having come of age, was sent to join Marshal de Saxe, whose great victories in the north were balancing the misfortunes in the south. The regiment of Monaco, Prince Honoré's own and under his command, proved as worthy of its origin as Honoré did of his. At the memorable battle of Fontenoy Honoré displayed the greatest bravery and coolness. His brother Maurice, who was with him, was severely wounded in the leg.

The orders issued by Marshal Saxe on the eve of the battle were: 'Whether the attack is successful or not, the troops will remain in the position that night overtakes them in, to recommence the attack on the enemy.'

The centre of the allies, English, Hanoverian, Dutch, and Hungarian, defended the villages of Raucoux and Varoux, but notwithstanding a brave and gallant defence, they were repulsed. Three times did they advance and three times were they driven back. The victory, however, was dearly won. The losses were immense on both sides. At night the allies retreated,

leaving terrible proofs of the losses they had sustained. The French general, de Fénélon, was killed, and Prince Honoré of Monaco severely wounded.

Recovered from his wounds sufficiently to again take up arms, Honoré maintained his well-won reputation for courage, at the battle of Laufeld, where his horse was shot under him, and at the sieges of Bergop-zoom and Maëstricht, which brought the war to a conclusion.

The regiment of Monaco so distinguished itself, that six of its captains were decorated with the Cross of Saint Lewis, and on the 10th of May, 1748, Lewis XV. raised Honoré III. to the rank of camp marshal.

In 1751 the Duke of Valentinois died, and Honoré succeeded to the duchy-peerdom of Valentinois and the lieutenant-generalship of Normandy, which he ceded to his brother, Count of Valentinois, and grandee of Spain, for fifteen years, at the end of which time he took possession of it himself.

Prince Honoré now turned his thoughts to marriage. He was thirty-seven years of age, when, during one of his visits to Genoa, he fell desperately in love with the beautiful Catherine Brignole-Sale, niece of Francis Brignole-Sale, who had been Doge of Genoa

from 1746 to 1748. The prince asked her father to consent to their union, and his proposals being well received, M. de Monléon was sent to Genoa, having been intrusted with the mission to escort the bride-elect to Monaco. When they reached the port, an absurd question of etiquette arose, which very nearly created a rupture. The point in dispute was, which of the two, the bride or bridegroom, were to advance first towards the other; neither chose to cede, Madame de Brignole, the mother, declaring she would rather take her daughter back to Genoa than give in. At last a happy idea suggested itself, and was instantly adopted. A flying bridge was to be thrown across from the shore to the vessel, and the bride and bridegroom were each to take the same number of steps towards each other. Thus the difficulty was removed, and the marriage, which five years later was the cause of such scandal and finally the union broken, was celebrated with the greatest pomp and ceremony. The first year or two of his married life Honoré III. passed at Monaco.

In 1760 the never-ending question of limit between the prince and the King of Sardinia, which for three centuries had been a cause of dispute, again arose; but was now to be definitely settled by a convention

dated the 24th of November of the same year; the king admitting the sovereign rights of the Prince of Monaco, and withdrawing his desire that the limit should be fixed at the very walls of Monaco, which would have rendered it impossible for the prince to have visited either Mentone or Roccabruna without passing through Charles Emmanuel's territory, and marking it out as justice demanded, so that the entire principality was united.

In 1762 Honoré III. took his beautiful wife to Paris, and presented her to the court of France. The princess's great beauty called forth universal admiration. Lewis of Bourbon, Prince of Condé, conceived a violent passion for her, which he did not attempt to overcome or conceal; and after Honoré's death he married her in London in 1798.

On the 3rd of September, 1767, the Duke of York, brother of George III., landed at Monaco, in consequence of a sudden illness, which seized him on his way from Marseilles to Genoa. He was received at the prince's palace, where Honoré III. showed him every possible attention and care; but notwithstanding the devotion he received, he died on the 14th. An English frigate was sent to convey the royal duke's remains to England. The procession from the palace

to the port was made as imposing and grand as Honoré from respect and regret could make it. The room in the palace where the duke died is called the 'York Chamber,' and is still shown in all the original splendour with which it was hurriedly prepared for his reception.

The King of England, touched by the kindness shown to his brother in a foreign land during his last days, expressed his gratitude to Honoré III., and sent for his acceptance six magnificent horses. The Duke of Gloucester sent a similar present, expressing the same sentiments, saying, however, at the same time, that the horses he sent were those that his brother had always used, and that he thought the Prince of Monaco would on that account set additional value on them. The prince also received an invitation to visit England, which he did in the spring of 1768. Honoré III. during his visit, which lasted two months, was treated with all the graciousness and hospitality the court of St James in those days knew how to dispense. He went the usual round of sight-seeing, visiting also Portsmouth, Greenwich, and Woolwich; he was especially struck with the hospital at Greenwich, which he visited very minutely. He left England on the 30th of May, the king and queen

expressing a hope that he might again visit the shores of England.

At this period a convention was entered into between the King of France and the Prince of Monaco, for the purpose of abolishing in their respective states the law of *Aubaine,* which law gave the sovereign the right of succeeding an alien dying within his jurisdiction. The Convention, which originated in Prince Honoré, much to his credit, was signed on the 18th of August, 1770.

By his marriage with Catherine de Brignole Honoré had two sons; the eldest, who was born at Monaco in 1758, and afterwards succeeded his father as Honoré IV., married, in 1777, Louise d'Aumont, only daughter of the Duke d'Aumont; but she was Duchess of Mazarin; in right of her mother, as, failing heirs male, the title passed in the female line. She was a woman devoid of virtue and every feminine feeling. Her acts were too dark to bear recording. Honoré's second son, Prince Joseph, married, in 1782, Frances Theresa, daughter of Marshal Choiseul Stainville; we hear of her again later.

In 1787 the Duchess of Chartres, mother of Louis Philippe, paid a visit to Monaco.

Two years later, events which had been advancing

slowly and in silence now made progress with alarming rapidity, and with tumult and fury. The French Revolution spread from country to country, far and wide, till it became almost European. It was 1790, however, before the first shock was felt at Monaco. Early in that year deputations waited on Honoré III., in order to obtain the power of forming in each of the communes of Monaco, Mentone, and Roccabruna, a council composed of members elected by the people. Long before 1789 they had had an analogous municipal representation; their councils being composed of twenty-one members, to consider the necessities of the state, but they had no power to vote anything, not even taxes. They were more as assistants to the prince, to whom they made known the wishes and requirements of the people, but now they demanded to be invested with sovereign power, the same as the National Assembly had already assumed.

Prince Honoré, at the time when discontent first showed itself, was in Paris; he returned immediately to Monaco with the intention of crushing out all rebellion, but finding the threatening attitude of the people, and the impossibility of subduing them, he yielded to necessity, granted them all they desired, and hastened back to France.

The councils were elected, composed of eighteen members for Monaco, thirty-six for Mentone, and seven for Roccabruna. These councils were to unite legislative, administrative, and political power; the prince only holding executive power, and even that to be shared with the members forming each council.

Honoré had now to witness the greater part of the concessions made to his ancestors at the treaty of Péronne wrested from him. He, however, made an attempt to save them by laying his claims before the National Assembly in 1791. He pointed out that he had not received fiefs as a voluntary free gift from the king, but they had been granted as compensation for what he had lost through his alliance with France. The whole matter was fully gone into, and then his claims were placed before the Diplomatic Committee for their decision, which was given in favour of the prince, as being in accordance with their own way of viewing natural and civil rights. They gave as their opinion that he ought to be indemnified by lands capable of yielding the same revenue he had been guaranteed to receive, namely, 75,000 francs.

M. Durand Maillane opposed this conclusion, on the plea that the 104th article of the treaty of the Pyrenees had not been carried out, and that Spain

should be forced to fulfil it; he denounced, at the same time, the treaty of Péronne as burthensome to France, and demanded whether it would not be to her interest to renounce it. Maillane was the deputy for Baux, in Provence, which argued that the Prince of Monaco could not retain the grants made by France, since the restitution which ought to have been made in virtue of the 104th article of the Pyrenees' treaty. The question thus resolved itself, as to whether article 104 had been carried out or not, and if not, then France clearly owed indemnity to the prince.

Such was the opinion of the National Assembly, which on the 21st of September decreed that the Prince of Monaco, not having had restitution made according to article 104 of the treaty of the Pyrenees, and that desiring to show their respect for the law of treaties, determined that the denouncement of the Commune of Baux need not be considered, as it tended to destroy the treaty of Péronne in 1641, that indemnification was required to be given to the Prince of Monaco, and that the offices of judicature depending on the lands ceded to the prince should be liquidated at the expense of the public treasury. The indemnity was fixed at 273,786 francs, to be

paid in specie; but the fearful rapidity with which events took place, and the calls on the attention of the government to public affairs, prevented the decree being executed.

At this moment also La Fayette's celebrated declaration was ordered to be placed at the head of the French constitutional code; which at once overturned monarchical authority, and amidst the terrible scenes that followed the Prince of Monaco's claims were forgotten.

It was on this occasion that Deputy Gombert said: 'It is certain that if the Prince of Monaco had two hundred thousand bayonets at his command he would force you to give him back his property; but it must be restored to him, as if he had the two hundred thousand bayonets;' which saying became celebrated afterwards, from being uttered by Napoleon I., in reference to the policy to be maintained towards the pope.

The revolution in the little state of Monaco was not behindhand in keeping pace with France, except in bloodshed; there they stopped. From this circumstance Honoré III. was for a moment deluded into thinking that their revolt was at an end, and that he had only to go back to his principality and once more govern as absolutely as ever. But the

prince found himself terribly mistaken. It was just at this period the French army invaded Nice; and the three communes seized the opportunity to plant the tree of liberty in each town, and then met in primary assemblies, declaring Monaco, Mentone, and Roccabruna free towns, proclaimed the Republic, and decreed the House of Grimaldi for ever deprived of their sovereignty. Thus Prince Honoré left his country, seeing power, rank, and fortune wrested from himself and his children.

Each primary assembly elected four deputies, and they all formed one special National Convention, which met at Monaco to direct the future of the new Republic.

A solemn *Te Deum* was chanted in the church of St Nicholas, at Monaco, and was followed by a salvo of forty cannons, to celebrate the freedom of the citizens. After this the mob proceeded to give further vent to their satisfaction, by pillaging the government archives, and amused themselves by making a bonfire of them in front of the palace. Thus much that was valuable and of great interest was destroyed.

For many months past the inhabitants of Nice had desired, through citizen Blanqui, their deputy, to be united to the French Republic. On the 31st of

January, 1793, the annexation took place, and formed a portion of the 85th department, under the denomination of the Maritime Alps. Monaco very shortly followed in their footsteps. On the 20th of January the following letter was addressed to the French Convention :

'LEGISLATORS,

'The National Convention of the former principality of Monaco congratulates itself on being charged to address to you the desire for union with the French Republic, unanimously agreed to by the primary assemblies of Monaco, Mentone, and Roccabruna. This desire is the finest sentiment of a people who have just won their liberty, and who can feel all the dignity of its existence. After declaring their sovereignty and independence, and after freeing themselves from the degrading yoke that the despotism of the prince inflicted on them, they could not show themselves more worthy of their elevation than by demanding to form an integral part of the first empire in the world. It is you who for a century and a half protected us; it is to you we owe the signal advantage of being free: accord us your fraternity and alliance, and there will be nothing to add to the claims you have on our gratitude, and on that of a far-off

posterity. The National Convention prays your acceptance of their homage; the happy moment of being united to you will be their bliss and glory.'

The Monacians, arbitrary and despotic as Honoré III. was, were certainly as well off under the prince's rule as most other countries. But, like the rest of the world at that period, and indeed at all times when revolutions are in their infancy, small states and ignorant people are attracted into its powerful vortex, and then swallowed up in the whirlpool. They sought for freedom under the weight of the heaviest chains the human race was ever shackled by. No government, however tyrannical, comes up to the despotism exercised by the lower classes when they obtain power. However, there is no doubt Monaco would have been forced to unite herself to the Republic had she not done so freely; but it might have been more satisfactory hereafter, when the Monacians were suffering from their bondage, to have felt that they had not with their own hands placed the padlock on the chains that bound them.

Their letter was presented to the Paris Convention by General Brunet, provisionary commander of the army of the Alps; to it he added his own testimony

as to their desire for union with the Republic, and added, that their want of means prevented their sending a deputation to make the request. He also attested to the friendly disposition shown to the French army since its occupation of the country.

The letter was laid before the Diplomatic Committee; and on the 15th of February, 1793, Carnot, in the name of the committee, decreed the union of the principality to the French Republic, in consideration of the wishes to which they had given utterance; and to form a district of the Maritime Alps. Carnot's report, wherein he detailed his reasons for approving and upholding annexation, is very lengthy. Some of his sentiments are worthy of Bismarck himself. One or two of them may prove amusing, if not instructive, our education on the subject being well-nigh perfected; thanks to Prussia's lessons. He says:

'To establish a theory on the re-union of territories, the Diplomatic Committee have had to fall back on principles. In all political matters two points are to be considered, *justice* and *interest*; the whole turns on them, they compose the entire right of the people, and are the foundations of private as well as national morality. Justice and injustice by these two maxims are thus easily defined. All political measures are legitimate

from the moment the welfare of the state requires them. All acts which hurt the interests of others, without an indispensable necessity for oneself, are unjust. These maxims I now apply to the union, separation, and mutation of territories. No union, increase, diminution, or mutation whatever of territory can take place within the whole extent of the Republic without it being recognized first, that the mutation has nothing contrary to the interests of the state; secondly, that the communes these mutations affect have demanded it with free will, *or* that *the general safety renders such mutations indispensable.*'

Surely this latter reason is worthy of the great Prussian minister of to-day?

Carnot then goes on to state that so far as Monaco is concerned, he counts the claims of a sovereign against the sovereignty of the people as nought, and that the union to the Republic can take place without any injustice. He admits also that Monaco's position will enable the place to form a frontier to France on the Italian side. He recommends the ex-prince to have protection given him for his private fortune as a simple citizen, on account of his not having shown himself an enemy to France during the Revolution, but his feudal possessions are to be confiscated.

Accordingly, in the name of the French people, the desire of the Monacians was granted and the incorporation took place. The Convention was sitting at Monaco, on the 4th of March, when the two republican commissioners of Nice, Francis Grégoire and Jagot, entered and announced the decree of the French Republic; the twelve representatives then present took the oaths of fidelity to the Republic, and the meeting was dissolved.

Monaco now again adopted her ancient name of Port Hercules. The Republican laws, many of them, told very severely on the inhabitants of the ex-principality. Some of them were very arbitrary. No persons unknown were allowed to enter the state; if they did they were arrested, till all concerning them was learnt. If the people in the neighbourhood entered any of the three towns to purchase provisions, two people were appointed to see that they came for that purpose only. No trunk or box could be removed from the town of Monaco, if it contained anything, without a declaration being made to that effect before the Convention, and obtaining permission. All the ex-prince's property, private or otherwise, was confiscated, notwithstanding Carnot's recommendation. The postman who carried the letter-bag from Nice was obliged

to take it and lay the contents before the National Convention at Monaco, each letter was inspected, so as to preserve against intrigues with the ex-prince. The postman was ushered in between two armed soldiers and kept till all in his bag was examined. The worst they ever found were answers from the prince to those who had written to wish him a 'merry Christmas.' No one was permitted to make any mention of the ex-prince under penalty of imprisonment for life. All mourning, slight or deep, was prohibited to be worn for the dead. No one was allowed to enlist in the service of any country inimical to the Republic. No one could receive deserters from the French army into their houses. All property belonging to churches, ecclesiastical corporations, convents, confraternities, and hospitals, was taken by the nation, and kept under its charge: to attempt to evade this law rendered the offender liable to severe punishment.

The people were however permitted to cut down their trees at will, and their olives they could crush how and where they chose. All liqueurs, brandy, tobacco, pipes, cards, and salt were duty free. Stamped papers were forbidden. The salary of the Mayor of Mentone was adjudged at £3 a month; the *Juge de*

Paix at £4; each of the two secondary judges 8*s.* 4*d.*, to be paid monthly in French coin; no paper money was to be given at Roccabruna, the Mayor received £1 4*s.* 2*d.* a month, the *Juge de Paix* the same, and each of the other two judges 5*s.*

Honoré III. had retired to Normandy, where Carnot's word in his favour, though it had not saved his property, left him for a time in peace. All his wife's possessions had been confiscated on account of her having left the country. She owned a magnificent house in the Rue St Dominique, where the German Legion depôt was established by the Commune of Paris. Later, this house was presented by the nation to the Abbot Sièyes.

On the 28th of September, 1793, Honoré was arrested, with many others, on suspicion; and kept imprisoned till the 28th of July, 1794. Then set at liberty, he retired to his house in the Rue Varennes, where he died the year following, his death hastened by his captivity, which at his advanced age greatly impaired his health.

On the first appearance of danger, Prince Joseph, Honoré III.'s second son, removed his wife out of the country, leaving their two daughters in France in the hands of trusty friends. The princess, however, a

gentle, loving woman, and a devoted mother, could not endure to be separated any longer from her children, and she unfortunately returned. Owing to her having once left the country, emigration being forbidden, she was instantly arrested on her return, and accused of having intrigued against the Republic. The first time she escaped, but only to be immediately retaken; she was arrested, together with the Princess Chimay, Baron de Trenck, and many others; her maid, Violte, was also taken with her. The whole were condemned to death. A friend advised the Princess Joseph to declare herself with child, which would delay her execution, and perhaps even save her life. Under the influence of the moment, and at the thought of her two children, she consented, but when, soon after, she began to reflect, she cast the dishonourable subterfuge from her, declaring she had better die than that her husband should one moment think her guilty of falsehood. She instantly therefore wrote to Fouquet-Tinville the following note:

'I shall be obliged to Citizen Fouquet-Tinville if he will come here and give me a moment's audience. I earnestly beg him not to refuse my request.'

Then she broke a window, and taking a piece of the glass, cut off her long fair hair for her children. Fouquet-Tinville not coming, she wrote again:

'I warn you that I am not with child; not hoping you will come, I write it to you. I did not sully my mouth from the fear of death nor to escape it, but to give me another day, that I might myself cut off my hair, and not give it cut by the hand of the executioner. It is the only legacy I can leave my children, it must at least, therefore, be pure.'

(Signed) Choiseul-Stainville-Joseph-Grimaldi-Monaco. Foreign princess dying through the injustice of the French judges.

On the same day came the order for her execution. She asked to have some rouge given her, fearing her exceeding pallor might be mistaken for cowardice. She was calm and resigned, and maintained her dignity and self-possession to the end. She was but twenty-six years of age.

The Duchess of St Aignan had been, with her husband, condemned to death at the same time. She pleaded being with child, which obtained her a respite. Four days later Robespierre and his friends

mounted the scaffold; and the life of the duchess was saved, as might have been that of the unfortunate Princess Joseph.

Her sister-in-law, the Duchess of Valentinois, was also arrested and imprisoned, and with her her youngest boy, from whom she refused to be separated; but as she had not endeavoured to leave France, she escaped death. They obtained their liberty on the downfall of Robespierre. The Duke of Valentinois, who was separated from his wife, retired to Normandy; he thus escaped the revolutionists, and was not arrested.

In 1797 the poverty of Monaco induced the expedient of stripping the palace of all its furniture, pictures, and plate, and selling them by auction, placards being posted up to notify their immediate sale. Thus were the riches that had for centuries been accumulating dispersed all over the country. Later, when better days dawned for the House of Grimaldi, much was got back and restored to its former owner. Nothing now, however, but bare walls were to be seen; and the palace was turned into an hospital for the wounded of Bonaparte's army, returning from their victories achieved in Italy. It was used in this capacity for some years; but

from 1806 to 1814 it was the poor-house for the Maritime Alps. When the princes of Monaco returned to it its condition was terrible.

Better days were now coming for France. The First Consul was causing discipline to show its fruits, and many who had left their country in despair now returned; though, instead of the wealth and prosperity they left behind them, they found nothing but poverty and distress. In many instances their estates had been sold by the nation, and thus passed into stranger's hands.

The eldest son of Honoré IV., Honoré Gabriel, following the example of many others thus deprived of their fortunes, took service in the army of the Rhine, so deservedly celebrated for its order and discipline. On the 3rd of December, 1800, he was foremost in the battle of Hohenlinden, and fell, seriously wounded. Later, Murat's famous exploits induced him to join him, and he was attached to his staff, making with him the campaigns in Germany of 1806 and 1807; and in 1808 the first campaign in Spain. On this latter occasion he attracted the notice of Napoleon, and was appointed by him Master of the Horse to the Empress Josephine. Honoré continued devoted to the very last to his imperial mis-

tress, and when the emperor offered him the same post to the Empress Marie Louise, he declined continuing, till 1814, to form part of the Empress Josephine's household.

Nothing very eventful occurred during the twenty years that Monaco was allied to France. She kept aloof from shedding blood, and was contented with harmless demonstrations when her indignation was greatly roused. It was on an occasion of this sort that the effigy of Pius VI. was burnt; yet a few months afterwards, when the pontiff's remains were being brought from Valence, where he died, to Rome, and a storm drove the vessel to seek shelter in the port of Monaco, the whole town rushed to make amends by every display of veneration and adoration to his remains, for the indignity they had offered to him when living. The body rested, during the compulsory stay of the vessel, in the parish church of St Nicholas.

Another episode in the ex-principality was the disembarking, on the 23rd of May, 1800, of the crew of an English frigate, and their taking undisputed possession of a number of cannons and a quantity of powder and shot; which the inhabitants, because they could not help themselves, aided in carrying on board

the vessel. In the hurry with which they committed this curious act of plunder, they managed to stave several of the powder casks, thus causing trains of gunpowder to lay from the depôt to the port. Before they had succeeded in purloining all the contents of the magazine they were interrupted by the appearance of the French troops, rapidly descending the mountain from Turbia. But the English were not to be surprised: they kept watch too well, and without loss of time they embarked, completely escaping pursuit; but annoyed at the enterprise not entirely succeeding, they first set light to the trains of gunpowder. An awful explosion took place, several lives were lost, chiefly amongst women and children who had gathered round the depôt, gazing half in fear and half in admiration at the boldness of the English sailors.

Both Monaco and Mentone contributed some gallant soldiers to the forces of the empire. Amongst the names of those who most distinguished themselves may be mentioned de Bréa, Adhémar, and Monléon. General de Bréa, a relation of the one who served under Napoleon, was killed in Paris in 1848.

Napoleon, though he somewhat drained this little country by his incessant conscriptions, gave it glory and imperishable monuments in return. The quay at

Mentone, the world-renowned Corniche road, and the far-famed Pont St Louis, are all lasting remembrances of the emperor.

In 1814 Mentone received a visit from Pope Pius VII., who, being permitted to return to Rome, went by Nice, arriving at Mentone on the 13th of February. It is a day spoken of now with deep and intense veneration by many of the older inhabitants of the town. Nothing could exceed the wild enthusiasm with which they received him.

Trouble now began to fall on the French empire. The god the people had enthroned with such wild, ungovernable enthusiasm, the idol they had raised and worshipped, was now under fresh impulses cast down, and, as far as they could, was trampled under their feet. This change brought others. Each was to have his own restored to him; such at least was the leading principle that apparently guided the great powers, that met in Paris to divide the spoils won by Napoleon Bonaparte.

On the 30th of May, 1814, the treaty was signed that replaced Monaco under her former masters; masters that were to prove worse than any it had been their fortune ever to come under. For a time it had seemed as if the little principality had been en-

tirely forgotten, and the Monacians began to fear their absorption in the kingdom of Sardinia on account of their having formed a portion of the Maritime Alps during their incorporation with France; however, no such good fortune was in store for them. At the foot of one of the pages of the treaty these few words, '*Et le Prince de Monaco rentrera dans ses Etats,*' were written.

Thus the Matignon Grimaldis, after twenty-two years being deprived of the principality, had it restored to them. In article eight of the treaty it was further stated that, 'France renounces all rights of sovereignty, suzerainty, and of possession over all the countries and districts, towns, and places whatsoever, situated beyond the frontier, designated above; the principality of Monaco being replaced in the position she was in before the 1st January, 1792.'

Thus, thanks to Prince Talleyrand's interested obligingness, the House of Savoy was forced to submit to the existence of a vexatious wedge in the centre of their kingdom; and the article in the treaty of Péronne which accorded the protection of France over the principality was maintained by the powers; replacing the state as it was previous to the Revolution.

Honoré IV., a victim to epilepsy, was rendered in-

capable from undertaking the government of Monaco himself, and in consequence, on the 3rd of June he appointed his brother, Prince Joseph, to act as regent. His nomination was hailed with great joy by the inhabitants, his naturally noble and kind disposition, softened by his terrible misfortunes, had endeared him to all. Prince Joseph commenced his dominion by restoring all things, as far as he could, to their former footing. He appointed M. Millo Terrazzani, whose family had always been firmly attached to the House of Grimaldi, as the prince's governor-general. On the 17th of June the municipal authorities of the three Communes met at Monaco and took, in the governor's presence, the oaths of fidelity to Honoré IV.; then a provisionary government was instituted to organize the principality, the old system being temporarily adopted. The prince, governor, and prince's lieutenant resided at Monaco, their rule extending over the state; an under-governor was appointed to Mentone, and a bailiff to Roccabruna; an intendant-general controlled the financial department, and an auditor-general presided over criminal justice and received appeals from the magistrates of the three towns charged with civil justice. In each commune a council of notables assembled at stated periods to deliberate on the various

local requirements, and to submit them, after duly deliberating on them, to the prince.

During a temporary absence Prince Joseph was compelled to make, for the purpose of settling some important business in Paris, a detachment of Austrian troops presented themselves at the gates of Monaco, for the purpose of occupying the town. They were sent by Count Bubna, Governor-general of Piedmont and Nice, in the name of the allied powers. M. Millo was unable to offer any opposition beyond protesting against such a breach of the treaty of Paris, which placed the principality under the protection of France. The Austrian officer in command replied that he was but carrying out his orders, and consequently the soldiers entered. There being no barracks or building where they could be lodged, they were billeted on the inhabitants, greatly to their disgust. Lewis XVIII. had not yet sent a garrison for the protection of Monaco, which neglect led to more than their present vexation, it being quickly removed; M. Millo having at once communicated with Prince Joseph, who took the necessary steps for the withdrawal of the Austrians, and Captain Hess, belonging to Count Bubna's staff, was sent to Monaco with orders for the immediate evacuation of the place by the troops.

This Captain Hess, afterwards created a field-marshal in the Austrian service, was present at the battle of Solferino in 1859.

Prince Joseph now endeavoured to induce the French government to send troops into Monaco; but beyond giving orders for barracks to be erected for the accommodation of five hundred men, and sending two ships of a hundred tons each and armed with artillery for the protection of the coast, no steps were taken, and Monaco remained undefended, except by a handful of volunteers, that were little better than nothing. The principality possessed neither the men nor the means for the formation of even a miniature army, but a worse trouble than the want of troops was about to fall on it, for Prince Joseph's administration was coming to a close, and a period of despotism was to follow, that to this moment is remembered with a bitterness hardly to be imagined.

CHAPTER XII.

OCCUPATION OF MONACO BY THE ENGLISH. HONORÉ V.

HONORÉ, Duke of Valentinois, eldest son of Honoré IV., having claimed the right, as his father's heir, of taking the government of the principality out of his uncle Prince Joseph's hands, and the latter, without offering the slightest opposition, at once making way for him, the duke left Paris towards the end of February to repair to Monaco.

On the 1st of March, at eleven o'clock at night, he arrived at Cannes, and shortly after passing the town, his carriage was suddenly stopped by men who were armed, and who desired him to get out of it instantly. Honoré at first refused, but on General Cambronne coming forward, the duke immediately recognized him, and asked for an explanation of such an extraordinary proceeding. Cambronne, in an under-tone, told him the Emperor Napoleon had just landed from the Island of Elba, and desired to

speak with him. Honoré then followed the general: they walked through an olive wood for some little distance, and came to the spot where Napoleon was sitting over a bivouac fire. After an interview of nearly an hour, during which the emperor invited the prince to accompany him to Paris, but which offer Honoré declined, promising however to await His Majesty's orders at Monaco, the duke was allowed to retire.

The emperor had landed that day at a solitary spot, called the Gulf St Juan, a few miles beyond Cannes and between that place and Antibes; his object was to avoid the latter place, not being sure of it; and for fear of his arrival being made known before he was well out of reach, he caused all travellers going eastward to be stopped, and had them detained till he was some hours in advance on his journey.

The moment the duke was permitted to continue his journey he did so, and hastened on his arrival at Nice to inform the Sardinian authorities of the emperor's return, which act of treachery brought its own punishment, for it led to a body of English troops being sent, on the 13th of March, only a few days after his arrival in the principality, to Monaco, under

the command of Colonel Burke, in the service of George III. of England. As they were seen coming towards Monaco, a volunteer on guard closed the gates. On their reaching the town, Colonel Burke demanded to be conducted to the palace, when he at once handed the Duke of Valentinois the following letter from M. Azorque, the king of Sardinia's governor at Nice:—

'MONSEIGNEUR,

'Most important news which interests Italy and Your Serene Highness compels him, who has the disposal of the English troops here, to occupy Monaco. I have the honour to notify this to Y. S. H., persuaded that you will recognize the necessity, as soon as you learn what cannot fail soon to develope itself in France, in consequence of Bonaparte's reappearance.'

The duke could not help submitting, but he looked on it as a mere subterfuge on the part of Piedmont to gain possession of Monaco, as there could be no question as to her neutrality, or her utter uselessness to France with an allied army occupying her entire surroundings, and an English fleet in the Mediterranean.

The inhabitants felt no desire to measure their undisciplined cadets (a mere handful of school-boys) or their volunteers against the stalwart old soldiers before them, so no help could be gained from that quarter, had they even been fit for the emergency. Honoré opened a war of words, the only weapons he dared to use, and he induced Colonel Burke to sign the following statement:—

'In the year 1815, on the 13th of March, at two o'clock in the afternoon, M. Burke, colonel in the English service, presented himself at the Palace of Monaco, and handed the prince a letter from M. d'Azorque, commandant at Nice, for the King of Sardinia, which letter remains annexed to this, and states that the English troops have received orders to occupy Monaco. The hereditary prince has declared to Colonel Burke that the principality has been re-established in its entire independence by the treaty of Paris, and under the protection of France; but having at the moment no garrison in the place, he finds himself debarred from offering opposition to the occupation; that he consents but through constraint, and that he protests against all inference that might

be drawn from this momentary occupation against the rights of sovereignty which are acknowledged.

(Signed) 'DUKE OF VALENTINOIS,
'Hereditary Prince of Monaco.
'BURKE, Colonel and Brigadier.'

Under this in the duke's own handwriting is written:

'The moment the English troops entered the place Colonel Burke caused it to be garrisoned by the said troops.'

Honoré at once put himself in communication with Prince Essling, Governor of Marseilles, informing him of what had taken place, and urging him to write without delay to the Minister of War, as he would also, for instructions as to what steps were to be taken. The duke also despatched an envoy to the French ambassador at the court of Turin, in order to obtain an explanation from Sardinia. But the French representative at Turin was sent by Lewis XVIII., and he had too much of important business then on hand to raise the question. The letter the Duke of Valentinois wrote to Marshal Soult fell into the hands

of Marshal Davoust, who succeeded Soult on Napoleon's return to power. He placed it before the Duke of Vicence, the minister for foreign affairs, and the following letter was written on the subject to the emperor:—

'SIRE,

'From the first moment of your Majesty's return a commander of English troops, in concert with the governor of the county of Nice, has taken possession of Monaco. After the old treaties renewed in that of Paris, France alone has the right to garrison that place. The period at which this occupation took place indicated sufficiently that the commander of the English troops has acted simply on his own impulse, and that he could not then have received instructions from his government. France should demand satisfaction for this affair from the courts of London and Turin; she ought to insist on the evacuation of Monaco, and on her being placed under a French garrison according to the treaties; but your Majesty may perhaps judge this affair as one for explanations only, supposing that the determination of the Sardinian government, and above all, the English commander, has been accidental, and a sudden result of the uneasiness occasioned by extraordinary circumstances.'

The emperor's uncertain and doubtful position at that moment rendered all negotiations on so comparatively trivial a subject quite out of the question, and the English continued their occupation of Monaco till the period of the second treaty of Paris; though at the end of three months the troops under Colonel Burke's command were relieved by an Anglo-Italian regiment, maintained by England.

France had shown, by her neglect to garrison the place, so little desire to retain Monaco, that when the new treaties were being drawn up, the representatives of Sardinia used so plausible an argument as to the imprudence of leaving a place, from whence war could so easily be made on Italy, unprotected, and being completely surrounded by her territories, that she by natural rights ought to have the principality placed beneath her protection, that it was decided it should be transferred to Sardinia.

The treaty for peace was signed on the 20th of November, 1815, and in Section IV. of Article I. it was decreed that—'The relations established by the treaty of Paris on the 30th of March, 1814, between France and the principality of Monaco should for ever cease, and the same relations should exist between that principality and the kingdom of Sardinia.'

Thus the right of protection which for one hundred and seventy-three years France had exercised over Monaco was transferred to Piedmont. Considering the situation of Monaco and the way it was placed, in the very centre of the Sardinian territory, France could hardly complain. As to the Grimaldis, they had ever been like shuttlecocks, and had to submit to be driven beneath the shelter of whatever place the strike from the battledoor sent them.

On the 8th of November, 1817, the treaty of Péronne being annulled, a fresh one was drawn up between Sardinia and Monaco, which was called the treaty of Stupiniggi. It stipulated for the occupation of Monaco by a Piedmontese garrison at the expense of Sardinia; the non-intervention of that power in the interior affairs of the principality, their rights of suzerainty and protection, however, always being preserved; the obligation of the king to leave the prince free liberty as sovereign of Monaco, Mentone, and Roccabruna, saving in that which concerned the two latter places, so far as their remaining fiefs dependant on Sardinia, and the obligation of the Prince of Monaco to receive the investiture of them from the king, and to pay homage and take the oaths of fidelity to him; that the garrison should in no way interfere

in anything concerning the government of the place, or the people; and, lastly, that, the state protected, should respect in its legislation the state protector, and that no refuge should be granted either to deserters or refugees from Piedmont.

Had Honoré IV. been able, he would have resisted acknowledging the King of Sardinia as suzerain over Roccabruna and eleven-twelfths of Mentone; but the slightest opposition would have been absurd and senseless. The Duke of Valentinois was therefore deputed to represent his father, and received from Victor Emmanuel the investiture of Mentone and Roccabruna.

A few days after the treaty of Stupiniggi a convention was signed between the king and prince by which the laws of the two states were assimilated. This led to the abolishment of the tobacco manufactory at Monaco, which gave employment to a large number of the people and did good to commerce, as what was not consumed in the principality was exported. The Sardinian government pretended that this exportation of tobacco did harm to the royal treasury, and desired in consequence that the manufacture should cease. The prince's agents were, however, to receive sufficient tobacco for the consumption of the

inhabitants at cost price. Thus the benefit derived from its sale went into the prince's coffers, and made his gains the same in proportion as that of the Sardinian government. But though Honoré benefited individually, it caused great distress amongst the inhabitants, so many hands being thrown out of work.

Four companies of Sardinian infantry and a certain number of artillery now occupied Monaco. They were to be relieved every two years; though in 1830 that time was reduced to three months. The old Convent of the Visitation, founded by Princess Charlotte de Gramont, in 1663, was turned into barracks for their use; those that were contemplated being built for the troops of Lewis XVIII. never having been even commenced.

Honoré IV., before his death, which took place in 1819, in Paris (some say by drowning), vainly endeavoured to induce France to grant him the indemnity for his losses that the government had awarded him, but never paid. The Duke of Richelieu, president of the council, acknowledged the validity of the claims, but added, that with the withdrawal of the protection of France, all claims on her ended, and that to Sardinia he must look for compensation; and that the king would offer a good word for him to Victor Emmanuel.

However, on the 16th of July, 1816, the French government admitted itself indebted for the interest omitted between 1814 and 1815, when the principality was for a few months again under French protection. This amounted to 204,167 francs, and was paid. The King of Sardinia, on receiving a reclamation from the prince, put him off with promises, which came to nought.

The ill-starred reign of Honoré V. may be said to have virtually commenced in 1815, when he took the administration of affairs out of his uncle's hands. His first act of treachery to Napoleon was followed by every act of wickedness and oppression he could be guilty of towards his subjects. Hitherto the Monacians had been ruled with severity, but there had been justice: now that ceased. Their taxes, which before the abolition of the tobacco manufactory, and including the port dues, amounted to 90,000 francs, were now, *without* the tobacco manufactory, increased to 300,000 francs, in what way we shall see presently. When under the protection of France, free trade with that country had increased the wealth of the proprietors; now that door to commerce was closed. Till the time of the Revolution the princes of Monaco had lived in their own state; now Honoré V. but

rarely was seen; and all his wealth, unlawfully gotten as it was, was not even spent in the principality.

The Duke of Valentinois had always been renowned for his unbounded extravagance and love of expenditure; thus when he first came amongst his subjects, it was their endeavour, by making self-sacrifices, to make him feel the losses his family had sustained by the Revolution as slightly as possibly, and to enable him to keep up his rank and position. The taxes raised on olives, the manufacture of bread and cases of fruit, brought in a revenue of 45,000 francs, but this was entirely swallowed up in salaries, and the expenses incident to the administration. The severance of the principality from France was a terrible blow to it in every respect; for whilst the people were contemplating in what way they could best increase the revenue of their prince, they found themselves debarred from realizing even what they had hitherto done.

Whilst these generous intentions were occupying the thoughts of the Monacians, Honoré V. found means to fill his coffers without consulting their welfare or interest; and from one step to another he continued to lay on taxes, and then to monopolize every article with which they traded. Imperious, unjust,

and dishonest, the prince was not likely to feel any sympathy with the remonstrances of his people, that by oppression and tyranny he reduced to mere slaves; yet outwardly Honoré V. was the type of a perfect gentleman; with a distorted mind and bad heart, his exterior was handsome, and his manner fascinating; he understood well the art of concealing his true disposition, and few besides his victims knew him to be the cruel unbending tyrant he really was. When in 1815 he came to rule in his father's place, his subjects were ready to love him, and make sacrifices for him; but they quickly found they were welcoming a despot, who engendered but hatred and fear.

He soon commenced his work of destruction and desolation. He began by undertaking, in the first place, to provide for all the wants and necessities of the people; and therefore he caused all property belonging to the communes, hospitals, confraternities, and churches, to be made over to him. All taxes were to be paid into his exchequer, and even to the money for which the manure swept up in the streets was sold for. The money taken for seats in the churches, money given for charity, all was to be placed in his hands.

His will was to be made known by ordinances,

and they were to be received as law, and to become such. These ordinances were issued thick and fast, every one bringing with it some fresh oppression.

The great produce of this country being fruits, and the quantity grown far away exceeding what could be consumed by the people themselves, it naturally resulted that commerce in these articles proved the only means by which money could be made by the proprietors. The prince, therefore, issued an ordinance by which he taxed oranges, lemons, grapes, figs, oils, and essences so heavily, that the proprietors soon found that no profit could accrue to them, thus rendering them first poor, and finally ruined.

Lemons and oranges, whether choice ones or mixed, were taxed three francs the thousand; oils 50 cents the *rup;* wines the same; 35 cents per pint on all kinds of spirituous liquor; a franc and a half on every load of grain. Grapes, which under the French government paid but 55 cents a load, were now made to pay two francs; and, moreover, were subjected to be estimated, before the harvest, by an appraiser appointed for that purpose by the prince, thus rendering the proprietor completely at his mercy. The difficulties of the poor people were also increased by France, since her protection had been withdrawn,

imposing a duty of ten francs the metrical quintal on all fruits, whereas, before they had entered the country free; and Sardinia, by subjecting them to a duty of six francs the thousand, virtually put an end to commerce with her; thus, between the two countries, the heavy duties imposed on the produce of the little principality was tantamount to a prohibition to commerce. All their endeavours to rise out of their poverty and distress failed; they complained, but their complaints were not listened to, except by some fresh act of oppression being given birth to in a new ordinance.

Monaco possessed four oil mills, property which no prince or government had ever dreamt of interfering with; but Honoré V. now issued an ordinance by which all mills were decreed henceforth to belong to the State; thus the people were compelled to close their own mills, without any indemnity being given them, and received orders to triturate their olives with the prince's; this was only done under great difficulties and heavy loss.

Now commenced the issuing of ordinances which seized the monopoly of almost everything. The first was of linen. A manufactory was established at Monaco, for the making of every kind. They were

not so good, yet dearer than what could be obtained elsewhere; yet all the inhabitants were compelled to purchase the linen made at Monaco, under pain of heavy penalty if they did not; even sailors were forced to provide themselves with the sails and rigging for their ships manufactured here. Then followed the monopoly of gunpowder, pipes, cards, ammunition for sport, and straw hats. This ordinance was followed by one monopolizing the sale of all meats. Vermicelli, the principal food of the lower class, was monopolized by a foreigner, the prince having granted him that benefit. But there yet remained one grand item, which, however, had not escaped the prince, but which offered some difficulties to monopoly, and thus retarded the issuing of the ordinance a little, though it promised to be lucrative; this was what the people termed 'The exclusivism of corn.'

The principality produced little or no corn, all was therefore brought into it. Honoré now employed a man named Chappon, a Frenchman, formerly purveyor to the army, to come from Paris, and confided to him the monopoly of corn, flour, and bread throughout the principality; he was to be the sole purveyor in the country; express prohibition was made against the inhabitants providing themselves elsewhere with corn,

flour, or bread. The prince and Chappon were to share profits. But to carry out this new ordinance a mill was required, and this the prince did not possess; but, however, this difficulty was soon removed by his taking several oil mills, belonging to his subjects, situated in the Careï Valley,* at Mentone, and converting them into flour mills. A small indemnity was offered to the owners, though never paid, and their claims were totally ignored. There was no road by which these mills could be reached except the bed of the torrent, or a very narrow foot-path; Honoré, therefore, had a road constructed at the expense of those proprietors who lived on the banks of the river; and he further made them pay a contribution of fifteen per cent. a year, on the capital forced from them under the pretext of covering the expenses for keeping up the road, a tax which was sheer robbery, for the interest of the sum exacted would have sufficed to pay for the keeping up of the road, and, to add to this forced extortion, the contributors were bound for the whole; that is, responsible, so that if one could not pay, his neighbour was forced to do so for him. The mill being found and the road made, it only remained to monopolize the bread, which was carried out in the

* The Turin Valley Road.

same spirit as the other monopolies, that is, made bad and sold dear.

All the inhabitants of the principality, without exception, and all travellers passing through, or resident foreigners, were condemned to the same bread, under very severe penalties. This bread was made from cheap and bad corn bought at the markets of Marseilles and Genoa, thus rendering it both unfit to eat and injurious. If the prince's contractor heard of any damaged corn that the police of Genoa had condemned, he at once purchased it: 'Still too good for such a people!' he would say. If good corn by any fortuitous circumstances found its way into the Chappon store-house, the first opportunity was taken of selling it again out of the principality, and replacing it by damaged grain.

This famous ordinance, which bears date of the 3rd of December, 1817, stipulates for the bread being of the same price and quality as that sold by neighbouring countries; but the purveyor looked on this ordinance as merely worded for the people, and he and his master understood each other well enough for it to be disregarded when an increase of profit was in question; thus the bread was both worse and dearer, it being sold at five cents the loaf more than bread at

Nice, and made with inferior flour, which, to make it go further, was frequently mixed with foreign and injurious matter. The people, after enduring this as long as they could, their spirit crushed and their health impaired, addressed a respectful remonstrance to the prince, detailing their sufferings and imploring him to soften them. The prince sent back an answer to this, threatening them with punishment if more complaints were made, and said that he would 'weigh them down with an arm of iron' if he heard more about it.

For five-and-twenty years did this system of tyranny and oppression continue; the iron arm was felt, it crushed the intellect and destroyed the health of as fine a race of people, with noble hearts and generous instincts, as ever breathed.

Finding no help was to be obtained by appealing to their prince, these half-starved people endeavoured to help themselves, and sent to Nice to purchase their bread, where it was both better and cheaper; but the moment this reached the prince's ears he took measures to put a stop to it. The road was carefully watched, and whoever was found transgressing was subjected to severe penalties. Even travellers on entering the principality were compelled to leave at

the frontier any bread they might have brought with them. If labourers from beyond the state came into it, to do a day's work, they were forced to purchase their bread from the prince's baker. The master of a ship leaving a foreign port, if he happened to have made the journey more rapidly than he had provided for, was compelled to throw away his unconsumed biscuits and bread; or his ship was confiscated and a fine of 500 francs inflicted; and these were not empty threats; the names of many victims are on record. If families were supposed to consume too little bread, and thus laid themselves open to the suspicion of purchasing it elsewhere, they were subjected to being watched. Every baker was ordered to keep a register, in which he wrote down the quantity of bread consumed in each house, and if the consumption was not deemed sufficient, then domiciliary visits were made, proceedings by law were taken, persecutions of all kinds followed, causing the tyrant's law to be cautiously respected.

A Captain Gastaldi, of Monaco, who commanded a company of grenadiers in the 66th line regiment, at the time of the Lyons riots which called for Marshal Soult's presence, received a wound from the fire of the insurgents which killed him. The French

governor granted a pension to his old mother, eighty-six years of age, living at Monaco. The prince, following the example, granted also a small pension to the poor old lady, who was extremely infirm, and kept alive by the care of two grandchildren, her only comforts. One day this family were cited by the police as eating too little bread, and accused of buying it elsewhere. Nothing was said, but the old lady's pension ceased. A friend of Gastaldi's hearing this, and knowing there could be no cause for such a strange step, asked Madame Gastaldi why she did not apply to the prince. 'You little know,' she answered, 'the severe penalty one incurs by applying to the prince; no one dares to address him.' However, her son's friend, being a Frenchman, had no fears, and wrote such a letter to the prince, that the poor old woman had her pension restored to her.

Prince Honoré now issued another ordinance: it was to force those who had acquired national property to cede it to him, without, however, remitting to them the sum he himself fixed for it.

The inhabitants now, unable to contend against the misery that encircled them, as many as could quitted their country, and endeavoured to seek in other lands the means of existence which was denied

them in their own. But the government instantly issued an order forbidding any one to leave the principality without a passport, for which they had to pay three francs. This regulation was therefore a preventative to people taking even a simple walk without being furnished with a passport; for the principality was but two leagues in extent, and the frontiers, except along the coast, always within gunshot distance.

All wood was now, by an ordinance, forbidden to be exported, excepting the wood belonging to the prince, that is to say, the wood which formerly belonged to the communes, but which, with other property, the prince had appropriated. Not a tree was allowed to be cut down without the owner obtaining permission from the government; then an official was sent to watch its being done, and to see that more were not cut than those for which leave had been sought. No one could sell their crops but at a price fixed by the police, and the purchaser, instead of paying the amount to the owner, was compelled to place the money with a receiver appointed by the prince, who himself had one per cent. on the sale. A little later no one was allowed to clear their lands, water their grounds, or cut off a branch of a tree, without the presence of an overseer, and he was to be paid by

the propriotor. No one was permitted to leave their house after ten o'clock at night without a lantern; in short, nothing that could make excuse for a fine was too contemptible to be invented.

A new tax was laid on the slaughter of cattle, which however was so arranged that the beast, living or dead, did not escape the tax. Thus a sort of Civil Court was instituted, at which all births of cattle were registered. If a lamb was born, the owner had to go and announce the fact, paying twenty-five cents for the stamp used on the paper on which the day of its birth and its sex were recorded. If an animal died, even a goat, the body was seen by an officer, who confirmed the fact, and stated the cause of death. For this he claimed payment from the owner; otherwise it might be that the animal had been sold, or perhaps eaten, to the detriment of the prince's exchequer. Every fine paid to the police for a breach of law they received a certain portion of; thus, often without law-breaking fines were inflicted; and as the police alone were listened to and believed, so it was in vain to protest against the frequent injustice that took place; besides, all appeals to the prince were rigorously forbidden.

From a population of 6500 Honoré V. managed

to make his civil list amount to 320,000 francs a year; that is, at the rate of fifty francs a head; whilst in Sardinia, notwithstanding fresh calls circumstances had imposed on the country, it did not reach twenty-four francs. Out of this 320,000 francs about 80,000 went annually to pay the public servants and the few pretorian guards gathered from the scum of the Rivièra of Genoa. The remainder the prince spent, hundreds of miles away from his little unhappy state, on his own selfish personal enjoyments, leaving the principality abandoned and neglected. The churches, schools, squares, streets, fountains, public buildings were all going to ruin, whilst the prince was revelling in luxuries and surrounded by magnificence, the produce of the cruel exactions he levied on his unhappy people. Their cries of misery could not reach him, and he kept away from the principality: during the twenty-five years he reigned he paid but three visits to Monaco; the whole times put together amounted only to six months.

In the latter years of his too infamous reign the prince commenced coining five-franc pieces and sous; the benefit he derived being thirty per cent. However, this did not prove a very profitable affair, as it soon ceased; the money was refused everywhere, it

being found to contain a great deal more alloy than was recognized as just.

Education now for a time occupied Honoré V., and in its turn it became a monopoly. A college was opened at Mentone, and by an ordinance which was issued, it was forbidden for any one to have private pupils or to give private lessons, and the children of the inhabitants were compelled to receive education at this college, or else the parents were fined.

Pauperism was forbidden: a law difficult of being carried out, when the poverty brought on the state by taxation and monopolies is considered. A house, however, for the purpose of carrying out this work was founded at Mentone, called a 'House of Help,' soup was daily distributed, and clothes given to the poorest in the country. Honoré took advantage of this opportunity to parade before the world his pretended philanthropy. He spoke well on the subject; he had the talent which enabled him to do so, and the world spoke in his praises; but what the world did not know was, that this 'House of Help' was supported by a contribution levied on every proprietor according to his means; and a committee was formed for the purpose of ascertaining the exact amount of every one's fortune, and as fortunes sometimes varied,

this inquiry was to be instituted every three years. The prince's contributions were to be voluntary; hence he never gave, even a five-franc piece of his own coining. But Honoré's end was nearing; he died on the 2nd of October, 1841, after thoroughly fulfilling his threat of bringing an iron arm to rule over his subjects. He left behind him a memory cursed by all he governed, and regretted by a very few whose good fortune it was to know him but on the surface. He died from a disease in the throat.

He was buried at Monaco; and in a chapel of the parish church on the marble slab that covers his tomb is engraved '*Ci-gît qui voulut le bien;*' as a Mentonais remarked, it might be added, '*Sans l'avoir jamais fait.*'

His death was looked on as a merciful dispensation of Providence, and hope for better days began to revive in the breasts of this unfortunate people.

The road that winds round the rock of Monaco to the town was constructed by Honoré V.; the old way was the steep ascent, and then through the great massive gates that open immediately on to the square facing the palace. The bridge across the Careï torrent, which at times swelled so considerably that the road was impassable, was also his work. He also

built the pretty church in the little village at Monti, situated high up amidst the mountains in the Turin Valley Road, and which forms a beautiful landmark from many distant points. The parish church of Mentone was restored by Prince Honoré's directions. But the funds for these improvements were not forthcoming out of the prince's exchequer; the unfortunate inhabitants, already exhausted by the taxations and monopolies, were compelled by forced contributions to defray the whole expenses.

No wonder Honoré's death was hailed as a blessing by these sorely-oppressed people.

CHAPTER XIII.

FLORESTAN I.—THE REVOLUTION.

Honoré V. was succeeded by his brother Florestan, a man utterly unsuited for the task before him. From education and temperament he was incapable of governing, and, in consequence, though little harm was actually perpetrated by himself, he allowed in his name the evils to continue that began in 1815, under his brother Honoré, and ended only with the dismemberment of the principality.

Florestan was born in 1785, and in 1806 his father forced him to adopt the army as his profession, notwithstanding its being totally at variance with his tastes. However, when called on to fight he did so, but he never succeeded in rising above the grade of a corporal. At last he left the army, and attempted to render himself more renowned as an actor, and made his *début* on the stage in Paris; but he gained no greater celebrity in the one profession than the other, and he gave it up also. In 1816 he married

Maria Louise Caroline de la Metz, and by her had one son. He now resided in Paris, where he lived in complete obscurity, and heedless of the future, till his brother's death called him to Monaco and placed him in a position necessitating a life little compatible with his tastes. Weak and vacillating, he allowed himself to fall at once under the dominion of his wife, and the principality under her.

Yet, in ignorance of the future and hope animating them, Prince Florestan and the princess were received with every mark of respect and rejoicing by their subjects. On their arrival the population went out to meet them, and detaching the horses from their carriage, they dragged them with their own hands into the town.

Mentone was not behindhand in her demonstrations. When Florestan paid his first visit there, as soon as the people heard that he had alighted at the governor's house they flocked in crowds around his carriage to wait his coming out; and the instant they saw him appear, loud and prolonged cries of 'Long live Florestan!' with cries of 'Down with monopolies!' greeted him. At first he drew back, for the crowd looked determined and menacing; but after the hesitation of the moment he advanced and pro-

mised to grant the desires of his people. None doubted but that better days were about to dawn on them, and that their new prince would remove the evils that all, with one voice, so justly and bitterly complained of.

On the 24th of November, 1841, an ordinance was published which did away with the monopoly of corn; but on the other hand, it was retained on the grinding, and further, an increased tax was put on the grain and flour. Thus the prince took back in one way what he granted in another. The duty on fruits for exportation was so enormous that the proprietors had no choice left but to cut down their trees, the tradespeople to close their shops, and the shipowners to sink their ships. But a reduction now took place; there was no escape from it, but it was so trifling that it barely did more than keep hope alive; and the diminution thus created in the civil list was soon made up by various expedients, and the annual revenue still remained 320,000 francs. But though Florestan was distinctly responsible for this continued oppression, he was not guilty of it; it was the princess who acted. She governed, she wrote the ordinances which the prince was desired to sign, but forbidden to read; he was simply her tool.

The treaties of 1815 compelled the prince to ac-

cord his subjects the same institutions as those enjoyed by the people of Sardinia; and little as the Monacians had at the time relished their severance from France, and their being placed under the protection of Sardinia, they would now have been but too thankful to feel themselves actually under the care of that kingdom or any other that would save them from their own princes. They in vain sought for reformation; no steps towards it were taken but the trifling ones we have recorded, and which in reality left matters where they were.

Sardinia watched, but never interfered, and when the Duke of Valentinois was sent to Turin to represent his father on his succession to the principality, for the purpose of receiving the investiture of Mentone and Roccabruna as fiefs dependant on the crown of Sardinia, he was received with every mark of friendliness, and King Charles Albert gave him the order of Sts Maurice and Lazarus. It was at this period that the claims of the Grimaldis were again put forward against the Matignon Grimaldis as heirs to the principality, the question having frequently been raised. It will be remembered that in 1731 Anthony Grimaldi dying without male issue, had married his eldest daughter, Louise Hippolyte, to a Count Matignon; but in order

to enable her to have rightfully succeeded her father, he ought to have married her to a Grimaldi, as according to the laws regulating fiefs of the empire, women were incapable of succeeding as long as male descendants were living. At the time of Anthony Grimaldi's death two branches of the family still existed; one the issue of Gaspard Grimaldi, Marquis of Cagnes, the other, more remote, was a descendant of Luchetto Grimaldi, Seignior of della Pietra, who lived in the fourteenth century. At the time of Louise Grimaldi succeeding her father, the Marquis of Cagnes was too young to put forward his own claims to the principality, neither was it done for him, and later he neglected to take any step in the matter. But on the 12th of January, 1761, one of his sons addressed a protestation against the counts of Matignon usurping his rights; and in 1774 this protest was renewed at Vienna, and obtained a more attentive hearing, and his pretensions were promised to be considered. It was clear, at any rate as far as Mentone and Roccabruna were concerned, that they constituted real imperial fiefs, and, consequently, the Princess Louise having married a Matignon, violated the laws in taking possession of them. However, nothing more was heard of these claims till the Restoration, when that branch of the

Grimaldis again revived them. Thus at the time when the King of Sardinia gave to the Duke of Valentinois for his father, Prince Florestan, the investiture of Mentone and Roccabruna, the Marquis de Cagnes, a retired general living in France, at St Marcellin in the department of the Isère, addressed a memorial to the Sardinian government to demand his claims being considered, and the suspension of the infeodation. The king, however, thinking the marquis's claims would not be injured by a repetition of what had so frequently taken place, did not consider it wise at that moment to grant his request. The marquis consequently protested against the act in a note which he laid before the Cabinet of Turin, on the 16th of January, 1842. The Marquis Grimaldi della Pietra of Genoa had also made a protest against the recognition of the Matignon family as princes of Monaco, and even offered, should his own pretensions be entertained, to cede all his rights to the King of Sardinia. Thus it is perfectly clear, by Charles Albert taking no notice of these claims, that the intentions imputed to him by the supporters of Florestan, in regard to his designs on the principality, were utterly false. The only foundation on which these friends of tyranny and oppression founded their assertions was, that a M. Trenca, aide-

de-camp to the Duke of Valentinois, and who accompanied him in that capacity on various occasions to the Sardinian court, was one of the principal movers in the approaching Revolution; and they stated him to have been the tool of Sardinia and in league with her government. If he was, he certainly did not succeed in his mission. Had Florestan himself been an agent, with the promise of reward according to his success, he could not have done more than was done in his name to bring about the destruction of his own state.

The taxation on oils, and the prohibitions against cutting or selling wood, with other tyrannical and oppressive laws still continuing, the population determined at last, in an address to the prince, to solicit their institutions being in conformity with those of Sardinia, and by this means obtain an alleviation of their sufferings. The address was as follows :—

'PRINCE,

'The first act of Your Serene Highness on arriving in the midst of your people was a good deed. Your Highness had a right to our homage and our devotion. You gained by your presence alone, and by the suppression of an oppressive monopoly, our love and our respectful confidence. Therefore, whilst carrying back your thoughts to the past twenty-eight

years, we dare frankly tell Your Highness that your people desire a different future. Heavy taxes weigh on our produce, and unless the paternal care of Your Highness causes a prompt remedy to the evil, our country is menaced with inevitable ruin; and we here mention that the duty laid on the export of our oranges and lemons is an overwhelming burden. We also come respectfully to ask Your Serene Highness to grant us a measure, from which will spring all the good you in your great goodness can desire: it is the re-establishment of municipalities. In giving back to our communes a legal existence, which they long enjoyed, and which our neighbours in the county of Nice and duchy of Genoa enjoy; in granting to the inhabitants a share, discreetly apportioned, in the management of municipal affairs; you, prince, will raise your subjects in their own esteem, you will establish the interest of each one in the interests of all, and the country, proud to be called on to second the views of Your Serene Highness, will be happy thus to make known its real wishes and real wants, and give fresh proofs of its devotion and love for the best of princes and his august family.'

The address was written at Mentone, and presented to the prince at Monaco on the 5th of November, 1842.

One of the members of the deputation, a Mentonais, highly and deservedly esteemed by all his countrymen, then made the following speech :—

'PRINCE,

'The announcement of the arrival of Your Serene Highness brought joy to the hearts of all the inhabitants of the principality. We are happy in being the interpreters of the devotion of the population of Mentone, itself impatient to express the joy that your return, so intensely desired, has caused. We hope to be able to tell our citizens that Your Serene Highness will soon go amongst them, that you have received with kindness the homage of our respect and our love, and that you have deigned to accord some interest in the expression of our wishes and wants. Those wants we barely had time to lay before Your Highness during your first stay amongst us. The weight of certain taxes is the first cause of our distress, and we know it pre-occupies to a great extent your paternal solicitude. Agriculture, the essential element of our commerce and our sole resource, cannot be in a more alarming state. Already some of our produce, such as sweet and bitter oranges and white lemons, can no longer stand against the competition of foreign ones. They are, therefore, either not saleable

or sold at a price that does not repay the proprietor the expense of growing and cultivating them. The same fate awaits us with our choice lemons if the export duty is maintained. For some time foreign orders have been given in preference to the growers in Sicily and along the Genoese Rivièra; and Your Highness is not ignorant that the country will be struck with complete ruin if that sole source of commerce and of the well-being of the entire population should be destroyed. There is another point on which we would with profound gratitude draw the kind and serious attention of Your Highness. We flatter ourselves that you sufficiently know us, prince, for us to believe ourselves compelled to protest beforehand, that not one of us desire to meddle in questions relative to the government, we only assume the honour of bringing before Your Highness a question of purely local interest,—we dare even say it is a simple family question that we lay before the wise consideration of a father. Many things are suffering and in jeopardy in our town. Funds have failed for several years for renewing or even restoring a clock which regulates the labourer's working hours; too often the public fountains fail to supply the necessary supply of water for the population, owing to want of means for repairing the channels

through which their supply comes; the slopes leading to the church are falling in ruins; the pavement of our streets is in sad need of repair; our public school is insufficient, and thus the chief number of children are compelled to be left in ignorance and to a dangerous idleness, leading to vagabondage. In the face of such a state of things we have been unable to forget, prince, that it was not so formerly, and we have naturally been led to think that a municipal authority surrounded by a council of the inhabitants specially charged with the care of local interests, as have our neighbours in the county of Nice and in the duchy of Genoa, would soon satisfy all pressing wants, and thus second the paternal views of Your Highness, who by recent good deeds has acquired such a right to our love and confidence. Such is the double object of the respectful address that we are charged to present to Your Highness. I await the manifestation of his consent to read it to him.'

As was expected, the address was not permitted to be read to the prince by the deputation. The prince replied to the speech in these words :—'I will hear nothing. I came to govern you myself, I want counsel from none.' One of the deputation, in answer to this, said, 'We are at all events happy, prince, that

Your Highness has heard the expression of our wishes and our wants.' 'Your wants I know!' was the prince's only answer, and with that he walked away without another word.

Hope, that had been revived for a time by Florestan's promise, now began once more to fade, producing at the same time a sullen and angry discontent. The prince was in himself not so bad but that he would have changed the whole system of government had he been capable; but he was not so, he had not the intellect, and consequently he was led by his wife; all he did and all he said was under her directions.

A system of persecution was adopted that any one with the slightest claim to clear-sightedness would at once have seen in what it must end. The prince lived away from the principality; unless compelled to appear, he was for ever in Paris; and the usual cause that brought him to Monaco was the same as with his brother, to inflict some fresh tax, whereby his revenue was increased. Thus, on one occasion a public school was founded at Mentone, and called a college; but the sum that was obliged to be paid was so large, that it was impossible for a quarter of the inhabitants to send their children to it, consequently the number of pupils was small, and the prince—or princess—finding

his emolument not what he expected, met the difficulty by issuing an ordinance by which all education was forbidden elsewhere, even to home tuition; making education, therefore, as much a monopoly as bread had been.

On the same sort of principle asylums for the poor were instituted; forced contributions being made annually for their support. But these were not very prolific measures: the princess had one or two others which she put in force, one being to take and turn to account the contents of the various public necessaries; another to curtail the expense in the burying of the poor, a carpenter being found who was willing to contract at the rate of twenty-five francs a coffin; but a more advantageous plan than these was now about to be adopted.

In Provence it was the custom for landed proprietors, if they possessed mills, to crush their olives themselves, or, if they did not, then they took them to their neighbours' mills, where they were crushed on the payment of a given sum; the oil was then put into jars, whether for sale or for their own consumption; others, again, preferred selling their olives at once, and so avoid running the risk of oil falling in price at the moment of sale. An ordinance was now

issued by the prince, that olives grown in the State were all to be sold to him; he as a proprietor had his own mills, one being in the Carreï Valley, near Mentone; but his unpopularity prevented people going to his mill for their olives to be crushed. At first he pretended that he was going to give up the whole affair, and sold this mill at Mentone to a company who paid him well for it; but this was no sooner done than, as if by a sudden discovery of a better method for crushing olives, which would produce a finer oil and a greater quantity, Florestan employed a man from Aix to build a monster mill with a high-pressure engine, close beside the one he had sold so recently; his real object being to monopolize the trituration of all the olives of the country. Proprietors were invited to bring their olives to the new mill, as a trial; but they in their indignation and anger did not respond to this summons. Then came the ordinance, in which it was stated, that for the good of the country and the advantage of the people, this mill was to be used for one year; that all olives were to be sold to the prince during that period, and a prohibition under a penalty was made against their either selling or crushing their olives elsewhere. At the expiration of the year the order was either to remain exclusive or to become

general. In either case it would prove the ruin of all olive growers; for the prince, as a wealthy capitalist, would be able to fix the price of olives at anything he chose, thus, by giving a high price for them, draw all sellers to him, and then when all the mills were closed, in consequence of having nothing to do, he could lower it again to whatever he chose.

In 1846 the marriage of the Duke of Valentinois to the Countess Antoinette de Merode, a niece of Monseigneur de Merode, a Belgian family of distinction, for a moment diverted the people's thoughts from their own misery and distress. The marriage took place in Brussels; but there were great rejoicings when the newly-married pair arrived in the principality, all the three towns vying with one another to do them honour. The same year Louis Philippe granted similar advantages to Monaco as enjoyed by Sardinia in admitting her produce into France; the princess in consequence immediately imposed increased duties on the entry of the French articles of commerce into the principality, such as earthenware, china, glass, and haberdashery. Complaints were made, but were not heard; cries were raised against the Governor of Mentone, General Villarey, whose whole career was one system of persecution; he acted often on his own

responsibility, well knowing, that however unjust and severe his measures might be, they would meet with approbation from the princess, whose greed of gain and love of money he pandered to. His family were studded about the principality, holding various appointments, thus leaving no loop-hole for an honest man to cause justice and truth to be heard. Yet all were unanimous in condemning him and his. There seemed nothing left for this unhappy people but revolt or ruin.

On the 1st of October, 1847, Pope Pius IX. issued his famous edict, which granted liberty and reform to his subjects. Sardinia and Tuscany quickly followed his example, promising those constitutional amendments that were to make their way far and near. Monaco, that had for so long been sighing for emancipation, now resolved not to be left behind in the general movement.

Prince Florestan was, as usual, in Paris, when, on the 4th of November, 1847, the fête-day of Charles Albert, the inhabitants of Mentone crossed the frontier to take part in the amusements and rejoicings that were taking place in honour of the king. On their return they formed into processions, crying, 'Long live Pius IX.! long live the King of Sardinia!' and

illuminated the town. On the 6th, two days after, the principal people of Mentone met and held a conference, at which it was decided that an address should be presented to Prince Florestan, demanding the same concessions for the principality as had been granted to Sardinia. The following morning, at nine o'clock, the population, preceded by the civil and military authorities and the priesthood, formed a procession, and went to the governor's house, and begged him to be the medium of communicating their desires to the prince. The governor promised to comply with their request, and moreover said he would add the weight of his own influence to bring about the desired end. At night the town was again illuminated. After anxiously waiting, a despatch was received from Paris on the 16th, in which the prince promised that on his return to Monaco he would take into consideration the reforms demanded by the people. But in contradiction to even this unsatisfactory answer, it was rumoured that the prince had written another despatch, addressed privately to the governor, completely annulling the first, and desiring him at all costs to maintain peace, to arrest the malcontents, and to call in the aid of the Sardinian troops if necessary.

The population went in a body to the governor's

house on learning the arrival of the despatch, which was then read to them; but, as might have been expected, the wording of it did not satisfy them, and they loudly demanded that the prince should himself immediately return to Monaco, as it was him they desired to hear, and him they desired to be heard by. The governor was too justly suspected by them for any trust to be placed in what he said. But Florestan still remained in Paris, and with no thought of quitting it, till at length the French press began to discuss the persecution the little state of Monaco had been subject to for so many long years; then sympathy was expressed on all sides, and murmurs against their ruler began to be heard, so Florestan no longer dared remain absent.

In the mean while the principality issued proclamation after proclamation; processions, headed by bands of music playing the Piedmontese national airs, paraded the town, and cries of 'Long live Charles Albert! Long live Pius IX.!' were heard incessantly; meetings were held at the houses of General Partouneaux and M. Charles Trenca, two devoted and loyal supporters of the unfortunate Mentonaises. The general, a Frenchman by birth, having married into a Mentonais family, settled in Mentone, and made it his

adopted country; and to the present moment his name is always mentioned with affection and pride.

Villarey,* finding he had no power to maintain peace, followed his master's directions, and on the 25th of November ordered a detachment of the Sardinian troops at Monaco to occupy Mentone. Very shortly after placards appeared, announcing to the people that their prince was shortly to arrive. Some accepted the news gratefully, others, feeling how often they had been deceived, thought the statement false and only made to obtain peace. However, on the 8th of December Prince Florestan arrived at Monaco, and at once shut himself up in his palace; his first act being to forbid the authorities and people of Mentone and Roccabruna, who had throughout acted in concord with Mentone, from presenting themselves before him.

On the 11th of December the consuls, no longer able to restrain the people, undertook to present an address to the prince, which they proposed reading to him. This, however, only called forth another ordinance, which irritated the people, and gave rise to manifestations of deep anger. Young and old, rich and poor,

* This man, who a few years later was reduced to utter poverty, was amongst those whose names were submitted by the Prince of Monaco in 1861 to the French government for a pension from that country.

congregated together and paraded the town, singing Italian hymns, and giving vent to their indignation by crying, 'Down with the prince!'

The Sardinian troops remained silent spectators of all these proceedings. They heard their own king spoken of with reverence and respect. He heard the petitions of his people, he received their addresses, whilst Florestan heard nothing, and saw no one. Charles Albert lived amongst his subjects, but Florestan lived in another country, and spent his revenue, which was little better than stolen from his subjects, far away in another country. They were crushed by the fearful taxation, and ruined by the monopolies that enriched their prince, and they now demanded to have the same privileges as enjoyed by the people of Sardinia, and as, according to the treaty of 1815, they were entitled to. It was not likely when listening to these sorry complaints that Charles Albert's soldiers would use violence to silence them.

It was perfectly clear now that submission and resignation were at an end amongst these people. Florestan had gone too far; he had goaded them on till they were beyond his power of subduing them. For a moment the prince seemed disposed to act with wisdom. A man of the people, a Mentonais, resolved

to go alone to Monaco, and obtain access to the prince; and assume during his interview that Florestan was ignorant of what was going on in his state, and of the bitter feelings of the people. 'I came to lay the truth before you,' he said; 'if you will hear me, I will speak; if not, I will return.' He was desired to speak. He then drew a plain and truthful picture of the state the country was in. 'The consuls and notables,' he continued, 'are honest people, and have not, as is asserted, driven the people on; but the people, on the contrary, have placed them at their head to demand reforms; and it is I who am at the head of the people. Let your son come and learn for himself the real feeling of the population, I will answer for his safety.'

After some hesitation, Florestan agreed to the Duke of Valentinois' going to Mentone, and it was arranged he should have an interview with the notables and consuls at the prince's residence at Carnolès.

On the 12th of December, at the hour fixed for the arrival of the Duke of Valentinois, between four and five thousand people, including the clergy and magistrates, who headed the procession, assembled before the prince's residence at Carnolès. M. Carlès,

the *curé* of the parish church of Mentone, who knew but too well the miseries the prince's administration had entailed on his subjects, was the spokesman on the occasion. He implored the duke to exert his influence to obtain some liberal concessions; reform, he said, was necessary, and had now become actually a matter of life and death. He spoke with so much eloquence and feeling that the duke seemed touched by the terrible picture drawn of the misery the people were suffering. He turned and discussed several points and asked various questions of other persons near him, and finally promised in his father's name the reforms demanded. At once cries of 'Long live the prince! Long live the Duke of Valentinois!' resounded through the mountains; and the people, satisfied and trustful, passed the remainder of the day in giving vent to their joy and gratitude.

By an agreement with the duke it was arranged that the consuls were to repair to Monaco to confer directly with the prince as to what steps were to be taken. Florestan received them on the following day; and on the day after that he went, himself and his family, to Carnolès, with the object of fulfilling the promises made in his name. He spent several days there; yet nothing was done beyond a slight modi-

fication in some of the taxes, the promised dismissal of the governor, projects started for various amendments, and that was all, there the matter ended; unless, indeed, the success of the prince in having once again deceived his subjects. Discontent was not long in showing itself, and agitations recommenced. Then the prince threatened, but the people did not care; nothing he could do could render matters in a worse state than they were in already. Colonel Partouneaux, a Frenchman, and a Sardinian major, who had both exerted all their influence to prevent a popular outbreak, were denounced to their respective governments as seditious agitators; however, they were both honourably acquitted. M. Carlès was also accused of belonging to the factious party, and was compelled to render an account of himself to his bishop at Nice; he likewise was acquitted, and commended also.

At length the prince, not knowing what to do, as a last resource sent his son to Turin. What really took place during his stay there is not known, but on his return rumours were set afloat that the King of Sardinia had determined on bringing the Mentonaises to submit to the prince's rule; and as if to carry out this threat, General Gonnet marched into the town on the 4th of January, at the head of a fresh battalion, fol-

lowed by a provisionary governor; at the same time police agents were apparently on the look-out for those that were to be arrested: this infuriated the people, who now awaited and expected a collision. The troops commanded by General Gonnet, and which were stationed at a short distance from those already in the town, now began to load their guns, as if ready to fire on the people. They however advanced bravely towards the armed troops, they knew it would be death or liberty, but on they went, carrying a bust of Charles Albert before them, when suddenly, as they came up to the soldiers, the men with one accord presented arms to the bust of their king. Then there rose up a shout of triumph and joy from the people such as had never been heard in these valleys before. They felt, now they were victorious, their freedom was won.

The prince, indignant beyond measure at this most extraordinary method of obtaining peace, had been anxiously waiting to hear of a collision between the troops and the people; instead of which, General Gonnet and the governor quietly returned with the soldiers to Monaco, and assured the prince there was no likelihood of peace being broken. Yet not satisfied, Florestan sent a messenger the following day to

the consuls at Mentone, begging them to keep the people from rising in that town. The consuls replied by telling the prince's envoy to remind his master of his promises, and to demand their fulfilment. The princess endeavoured to win over some sailors to carry out a project she entertained of subduing the Mentonaises; but finding they were not to be corrupted, she accused them of pandering to wealth, and turning their backs on honour. They replied, however, by saying that wealth was unknown of late years in Mentone, but that they were united in heart with the Mentonaises as five fingers are on one hand.

After waiting sorrowfully and expectant for nearly a month, a fresh deputation was on the 10th of February sent to Prince Florestan, demanding more urgently than ever the Sardinian Constitution, and on condition of this being granted the Grimaldis were in 1815 allowed to re-enter their principality. In reply to this, Florestan issued what he termed a Charter, which, under the appearance of liberty, preserved to the prince the absolute power he had so terribly abused. This, however, was the last lie with which he tried to deceive the people; and so convinced were they of its being nothing more than an empty concession, that in their anger they refused to listen to

more than the first part being read. Article XIII. is alone sufficient to prove the absurdity of calling it a reform; it is thus worded:

'The council of state, established for deliberating on the laws or ordinances for general administration, is to be composed of twelve members who have attained thirty years of age. The half of the members are to be nominated by the prince, and the other half by the electors in the following proportions: two by the electors of Monaco, three by those of Mentone, and one by those of Roccabruna. Each member of the council to be chosen by the electors of the commune in which he resides.'

Thus six votes the prince at once had in his favour; the two for Monaco would be equally at his disposal, and the Duke of Valentinois, who would preside over the council, would probably likewise vote according to his father's wishes; thus nine votes out of the twelve became the prince's. The people therefore rejected the whole charter, and gave up all hope of any understanding ever being arrived at between themselves and the prince, and dismissed all idea of contending any longer with him.

It was in vain that shortly afterwards he proclaimed his determination to adopt the Sardinian

Constitution without any reserve; and probably intended it. The people of Mentone and Roccabruna were worn out with their thraldom and slavery of thirty-three years' duration. They replied now calmly but resolutely, that it was 'Too late!'

On the 2nd of March, 1848, the Sardinian flag was hoisted everywhere; the Piedmontese troops received orders from Turin to return to their quarters; and a commission consisting of thirty-nine members was elected at Mentone. To this they added, on the 7th, sixty-one citizens nominated by the people, and on the 21st Mentone and Roccabruna declared themselves free towns, and announced it in the following terms:—

'The Commission of Mentone, in conjunction with that of Roccabruna, met for an extraordinary sitting:

'Whereas since the organization of the provisionary government, constituted on the 2nd of this month, all the official acts of the prince, far from tending to dissipate the cause which necessitated the determination of the people, have had no other object than that of increasing the public exasperation:

'That the revocation of all public offices forming the commissions has rendered the acts of the civil

state, those in consequence of death, and all social transactions, impossible:

'That attempts have been made from without to hinder all export trade, the sole resource of the country:

'That in thus giving rise to difficulties in interests, the authorities only succeeded in creating disorder and anarchy:

'Whereas it being impossible to prolong such a state of affairs, and that it is urgent to regulate it,

'The Commission, adhering to the unanimous and energetic will of the people, irrevocably to break with a power whose sole thought and only method of governing has been monopolies, oppression, and arbitrariness,

'Unanimously decree:

'The town of Mentone, of which Roccabruna remains an annex, is proclaimed a free and independent town; as before, under the protection of Sardinia, so as no longer to form part of the principality of Monaco.

'The limit which separated the commune of Roccabruna from that of Monaco will fix the line of demarcation of the territory belonging to the free town of Mentone.

'The flag adopted is composed of the following colours, placed vertically: green, attached to the staff; white, having in the centre two hands clasped; and red, floating at the extremity.

'The existing laws will continue in force till they are further enacted.

'The president of the commission and the consuls are charged with notifying to whomsoever it may concern the present decree.

'Mentone, free town.'

The signatures of the hundred representatives forming the commission, followed.

The prince protested against these proceedings, and appealed to the court of Turin to come to his aid to put an end to them; but Sardinia replied that she was called on to protect the prince from exterior enemies only; and if in the commencement she had sent troops to Mentone, it was only as an act of courtesy, which had, however, proved useless and unnecessary. Florestan in vain issued proclamations one after the other, and finally handed over to his son the administration of affairs. The Duke of Valentinois went to Paris and obtained an interview with Louis Philippe, hoping to obtain support from him in his difficulties; whether he would or not cannot be

said, as the King of France himself took flight from his kingdom almost immediately; yet one cannot but imagine he had sufficient matter to occupy him, without adding the affairs of the Prince of Monaco to it. Nothing, therefore, was gained by these appeals. The princess would now willingly have undone some of her sorry work, but it was too late. Florestan might protest and promise; he was no longer listened to, and nothing that he could have granted would have given them more than what they had taken, and that without a shot being fired or any semblance of opposition being made. The separation of the two towns of Mentone and Roccabruna from the principality of Monaco can hardly therefore be said to have been effected by a revolution, still, for want of a better name, it has been called one. . It was a movement devoid of violence, a revolt against tyranny, without one act of cruelty being perpetrated.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CHEVALIER TRENCA.

It was now that M. Charles Trenca took a prominent part in the directions of affairs at Mentone. He was a man whose reputation was such as to lead all people to esteem and respect him; and, by the moderation and firmness he brought to bear, he was able to lead and direct these hot-headed southerners, so as not to leave one stain on their character or room for one reproach to be cast at them. Every step taken was done in order and in obedience to those in whom the direction of affairs was vested. Women and children found themselves as safe and respected in the streets as in their own houses; and to Charles Trenca was this state of affairs mainly due. In 1819 M. Trenca first entered the service of Honoré V., and he remained in it till the prince died, when he was appointed aide-de-camp to Florestan's son, the Duke of Valentinois; and it was not till his duty to his country forced him to speak out the truth honestly

though respectfully to the Prince of Monaco that he was relieved of his duties to the duke; still M. Trenca never by word or deed did aught to increase the breach that Florestan's own misconduct had made between himself and his subjects. In order to keep the people within bounds at moments when they were most agitated, he abstained from any open expression or display of his own feelings; even when on various occasions the whole of Mentone was illuminated his house remained without any outward sign of festivity; thus individually he maintained a neutral position till the famous proclamation of the 2nd of March.

The Duke of Valentinois did not yet quite despair of bringing Mentone and Roccabruna again under subjection, and, to try and bring this about, he paid a visit to these two places; but his reception was such that he found it advisable to withdraw immediately to the palace at Carnolès. Safely there, he sent to M. Trenca and requested him to go at once to Carnolès, that he might, together with him, arrange the political and administrative changes that were to be brought into force. But Charles Trenca replied he was unable to take such a step by himself, and referred him to the council of the government, of which he was a member; but the council of course refused, declaring

a gulf now to exist between the free towns of Mentone and Roccabruna and the Prince of Monaco, that could never again be crossed. Farther advances by the duke were made to M. Trenca, but he was proof against bribery, even had his heart and honour not guided him.

On the 31st of March, letters notifying the events that had taken place were despatched by the three former consuls, MM. Massa, Charles de Monléon, and Maraldi, to the government of Paris and Turin. On behalf of Sardinia, M. Balbo replied that the free towns of Mentone and Roccabruna should receive the protection claimed, at the same time reserving all the rights that belonged to His Majesty over those territories. Soon after this answer a detachment of Piedmontese troops under General Gonnet was sent to Mentone.

On the 4th of April the electoral law, a law founded on a broad and liberal basis, was promulgated, and fresh elections took place. The deputies were now reduced to seventy; fifty-eight for Mentone and twelve for Roccabruna. On the 9th a solemn *Te Deum* was sung in the parish church in presence of the Sardinian general and the troops; and on the 17th arrived M. de Lamartine's reply. The minister of foreign affairs

for the French Republic had hesitated at first about acknowledging this new order of things; but a deputation, which in the interim had had an interview with him, set aside all his scruples by their laying before him the terrible persecution and tyranny they had for so long been forced to submit to; and their oneness in the movement just taken place.

Orders were now sent to the consular agents and directors of the French ports, that the flag of the two free towns should be recognized, and that the French consul at Nice should append the *visa* to the passports for France, issued by the authorities of Mentone. On the 30th the fundamental statute was published. Five commissioners were to be elected to hold executive power; this was done on the 1st of May, when MM. Charles Trenca, Preti de St Ambroise, Mouton (of Roccabruna), Charles de Monléon, and C. Feraldo, were nominated. These commissioners elected their own president, whom they called President of the Government. To this post M. Charles Trenca was elected, and M. Auguste Massa was chosen as mayor. Now followed a thorough judiciary re-organization, and with this they proceeded as rapidly as possible, for it was greatly needed.

It will have been remarked that the little town of

Monaco, which by itself barely formed a tenth part of the principality, held itself aloof and isolated amidst all the great changes that were going on around it. This is easily accounted for. Monaco, being the capital, enjoyed numerous privileges, and had, moreover, been exempt from the persecution inflicted on its sister towns; there had, also, for very long been a rivalry between the barren rock and the productive country on which all charges fell. The prince resided there, and thus the place was peopled, if not by those who cared for him, still by his friends and dependants. The rock was completely supported by the labour of Mentone and Roccabruna, and so enjoyed the questionable privilege of being an idle capital. The princess had also proved her wisdom this once, in leaving no stone unturned to keep the Monacians faithful to her husband; by threats and bribes alternately and judiciously administered she succeeded, and Monaco sought no change of dynasty, and even became convinced that in due time Mentone and Roccabruna would repent of their folly and ingratitude.

From that period till the towns were placed wholly out of the prince's power every description of conspiracy was attempted to upset their peace and destroy their unity; till at last Mentone, in self-defence, was

forced to publish a decree of perpetual banishment against Florestan and his family, which to some extent protected them.

Now that Mentone had thoroughly gained her independence, it became a question of serious import whether it would be most advisable to remain a free town or be annexed to Sardinia. As a free town she would have to pay taxes to herself only, but then she would have to support the whole expenses of her administration. The duty on imported goods was small, whereas the produce of the place was heavily taxed by Sardinia on entering that kingdom. It was true they had no conscription as things were now, but they would have it, if annexed; still the advantages on the other hand of becoming a part of Sardinia would be very great. Improvements would be made, which were sadly needed, and by themselves they were incapable of carrying them out. There was much to be said on both sides, still the balance was in favour of annexation. It would prove a hard task for a little state, hitherto denied all liberal institutions, and reduced almost to utter ruin by long years of heavy taxation, to find herself thrown upon her own resources, ignorant of the world and devoid of experience, to try, alone and unsupported, to organize a government capable of

standing against the difficulties it would have at every moment to contend with. Those in whom power was now vested felt this, and annexation was resolved on.

For five days two registers were kept open at Mentone for the population of the two towns to record their votes, the one for the Ayes the other for the Noes. Not one No was recorded; the Ayes amounted to 568; which, when one considers that the population amounted only to 4900, both towns included, was no bad proof of the universal desire for annexation. When women and children were deducted, and it must be remembered how few could write in comparison with those who could not; one may safely say the wish was universal, not one against it being registered. Various stories, originating in Monaco, were set afloat of old men being shut up in dungeons, and young men being got out of the way to prevent their voting as they desired. Then shortly afterwards a counter list was published with 370 names appended to it, declaring their wishes to be again united to the principality of Monaco, whilst the opposite side asserted that more than half these names were written by one hand, and the remainder by women and children, and that the endeavour to disguise and vary the handwriting was so clumsily done that it completely

failed; however, the protest is still in existence, and may be seen by those sufficiently curious to make the request to do so. We do not, however, agree with those who think that women signed this document, as few in Mentone and none in Roccabruna are to be found even in the present day who can either read or write, and it is not probable that nearly twenty years ago they were better educated than they are now.

A deputation, with the Chevalier Trenca as president, was charged with presenting to the King of Sardinia the desire of the people. On the 30th of June they left for Turin, and were received by the king courteously and kindly. Charles Albert, himself wearied with the constant vexation and worry the Prince of Monaco's misrule had entailed on his government, and the complaints made against the Piedmontese troops, was not sorry that it was brought to an end; and, much more pleased at this than the addition it would be to his kingdom, he unhesitatingly promised to annex the two towns to Sardinia.

Their fate was then about to be definitely settled and the annexation to be effected, when difficulties were raised by the French Cabinet. The plotting and intriguing of the princess in Paris began to show its fruits. M. Bastide, the then minister for foreign

affairs, had been deceived, and believed that the petition asking for annexation to Sardinia not only did not express the real wish of the people, but also that the names that were appended were obtained under threats and bribes of money, that even violence had been resorted to in several instances, and that it was nothing more than the deed of a factious minority, and backed by Sardinia herself. Thus the French representative at Turin, M. Rezé, was desired to oppose the project.

All these calumnies, which were traced to the princess, were refuted by a clear and distinct relation of matters in a letter from M. Trenca, which was immediately sent to M. Bastide, whilst a similar statement was forwarded to the minister at Turin. M. Rezé, who was in a better position for learning the truth than M. Bastide in Paris, was very soon convinced of the falseness of the statements that had been set abroad by the Grimaldis, and, adding the weight of his opinion to M. Trenca's letter, despatches were sent from Paris to Turin, consenting to the annexation taking place.

The question was now submitted to the Chamber of Deputies of the Sardinian government, which adopted the project of law in these terms: 'The communes

of Mentone and Roccabruna shall be henceforth governed as other parts of the state and in forming an integrant part.' The news when it reached Mentone was received with universal joy. The deputies, who had gone to Paris and from there to Turin, were now, on their return, made the objects of a grand ovation; the people came forth in a body to accord them a welcome worthy of the mission they had so successfully fulfilled. Their entry into the town was perfectly triumphal; arches were raised along the road they passed; flags, or what were intended to represent them, waved from every house; music was heard in all directions; people in giving vent to their happiness embraced each other in the streets; the old and young, the rich and poor, were one in heart and feeling that day.

The Senate of Turin was however behindhand in confirming the resolution passed by the Chamber of Deputies, though the result seemed certain enough, but its dissolution now caused the question to be adjourned. However, on the 15th of October the Chevalier Vigliani was sent to Mentone as a royal commissioner-extraordinary to organize the two communes, which at once resigned the government into his hands. His first act was to propose the nomination of a *consulta* to aid him in his mission, and by a

royal decree this was done on the 24th of October, the chevalier Trenca's name heading the list. Several Sardinian laws were published and put in force, and the administration worked heart and head to regenerate the little country that had been for so many years crushed beneath oppression; the people on the other hand were but too thankful and willing to second with all their energies those who were exerting themselves on their behalf. New life seemed instilled into every one, and, thanks to the municipality, the churches, hospitals, schools, streets, and fountains that for thirty-six years had been left to fall into ruins, were restored and kept with care; where neglect and poverty was before, prosperity and happiness had taken their places.

For a moment the disasters of Novara made the two free towns tremble for their future. Florestan did not neglect the opportunity, but exerted all his influence with Austria to get back his lost possessions. However, that alarm passed by, and once again their whole thoughts were turned to annexation. They now made another step in advance. On the 1st of May, 1849, a royal decree united the two communes to the division of Nice; this gave them many privileges which were joyfully taken advantage of, and helped to sustain the hope of their definite union with the kingdom being

soon proclaimed. Fears, however, began to gain ground amongst those well acquainted with the state of affairs, that the Senate was less favourably disposed to annexation than had been imagined. This caused the Chevalier Trenca to exert himself in every possible way. He wrote a pamphlet in which he made an earnest appeal to public opinion in Sardinia; he caused the question to be constantly brought before the government. This led to the Chevalier d'Azélio to ask M. Trenca for further notes, which were instantly supplied; still they held back, and at last stated their intention of awaiting the conclusion of a transaction as counselled by France and approved by England. At last Charles Trenca, wearied between hope and fear, declared he would not return to Mentone till he could carry with him some proof of the sincerity of the Sardinian government in the matter. This at length was done, and M. Trenca was able to write to the Mayor of Mentone, M. Auguste Massa, that the Minister of the Interior had informed him that, at a meeting held by the Cabinet of Turin, it was decided that the Intendant-general of the division of Nice should proceed to Mentone and convoke the municipal councils of the two communes, and declare to them the firm determination of the government to annex the two free towns

to the kingdom of Sardinia, and they might therefore await in all security the realization of their wishes, and with the conviction that it would not be long before the matter became an accomplished fact.

M. Trenca had now been ten long months absent working unceasingly to get the question settled even so far, and now he returned to Mentone. Peace and tranquillity now reigned in Mentone and Roccabruna for some time; the people thoroughly believed in their approaching annexation to Sardinia, and in the mean while they enjoyed many benefits accruing from the promise given concerning it. But one of these benefits, and a very important one, was now questioned, and became a source of serious anxiety. The Prince of Monaco's jealousy gave rise to this fresh trouble, which sprang out of the free towns flying the Sardinian flag on their ships, as well as elsewhere. In an additional treaty of commerce and navigation concluded between France and Sardinia on the 20th of March, 1851, Monaco as enclosed in Piedmont was included so far as concerned the importation of fresh fruits into France. Now that Mentone and Roccabruna had separated themselves from the principality, it was represented to M. Baroche, minister for foreign affairs, that these towns obtained entrance

into French ports by hoisting the Sardinian flag, without paying any dues, and that in thus borrowing this flag they escaped the duty of entry imposed on all other foreign flags; such, for instance, as the ships from Monaco that remained under the prince's authority; and Florestan could see no reason why a tax should be remitted to one and be paid by the other. In consequence of this, M. Baroche wrote to the French consul at Nice that the government of the Republic withdrew from the towns of Mentone and Roccabruna the permission to send their vessels to France under the Sardinian flag, and desiring that for the future he should grant the *visa* to such vessels only as bore the Prince of Monaco's flag, and furnished with papers from the ex-principality conformable with the former treaties.

This order ruined the commerce of the two towns, whose whole existence depended on its trade with France; and considering it was issued only to please Florestan, it made it doubly hard to submit to; however, it only served to increase their hatred of him, and to render the remembrance of his rule more detested than ever. To meet this difficulty, and at the same time avoid having to fly the Monacian flag, the municipal council of Mentone unanimously voted that

the difference in the duties should be made up to all masters of ships who would continue under the Sardinian flag. This ruinous proceeding would, had it continued, have been the utter destruction of the free towns; yet with that result before them they chose it unhesitatingly, rather than again be under the subjection of the Prince of Monaco. This brave and determined manner of meeting so disastrous an order proved to the House of Grimaldi that their chances of gaining back their lost provinces were not very great; it also tended to prove the falseness of the statements that the people did not desire unity with Sardinia.

M. Trenca, however, went without loss of time to Turin to lay before the government the state this order had brought them to. He found M. d'Azélio more inclined than ever to stand by the Mentonaises, and a despatch was immediately sent to Paris urging the removal of the measure that had created such distress. A month passed in waiting and hoping, but no step was taken by the French government. The people became uneasy, and M. Trenca had enough to do to keep them calm. At length they requested him to go himself to Paris; he at once agreed; nothing ever daunted him when his country's welfare

was at stake. On the 19th of June he reached Paris, accompanied by M. Faraldo.

He had the gratification to find his friend, Viscount Partouneaux, had been actively at work in his cause; through him the eyes of the government were opened to the iniquitous falsehoods that had been propagated concerning the Mentonaises, and in seeing through the persecution that still was being directed against them. Thus the French government, now well informed on all points, revoked the order that had already done so much injury.

That the prince should ever return to his former possessions seemed now so totally impossible, that the French and Piedmontese governments raised and discussed the question of paying Florestan an indemnity. A strange notion, but one started by France at the instigation of the Prince's friends (and which later cost herself more than she then dreamt of), who saw how hopeless any other redress was. 'Propose a fair indemnity to the prince, and if he does not show himself reasonable, his cause will be abandoned.' Such were the words used by France, and Sardinia did not consider herself, with the proposed annexation staring her in the face, in a position to refuse the suggestion.

The prince allowed negotiations with this view to

be entered on, feeling well assured his best interest was to seem willing to agree to a pecuniary arrangement; and the French minister undertook to transmit the propositions made by Piedmont.

But though Sardinia by her offers showed herself sincere in desiring to settle the question amicably, the prince would not agree to any one proposition made, and at the same time refused to state what sum he would accept. The first offer made was of an annual income; this the prince refused, saying, he in the first place considered it insufficient, and in the next he did not demand an income, but capital. This was for the definite cession of Mentone and Roccabruna; which, considering they were ancient fiefs of the House of Savoy, she certainly, after all that had passed, had a right to annex without paying any indemnification. The next proposition was for the cession of the entire principality, and a much larger sum was named, though still in the shape of an annual payment. The Duke of Valentinois was extremely indignant when this offer was communicated to him, and replied that he would listen to nothing but what concerned Mentone and Roccabruna only. After various other propositions, the prince at last declared he would accept none but under the following conditions: 1st, That

the Sardinian garrison should be removed from Monaco; 2nd, That the territory forming the town should be made into a district; 3rd, That the road to Monaco where it branches out from the Corniche should be ceded; and, 4th, That the prince's sequestered property should be restored, and that he should be reimbursed for its produce since 1848. No sum as indemnity was named, but he repeated his determination not to accept an annuity.

The Mentonaises heard of these absurd conditions, on which the prince alone was to grant them their freedom, with a feeling of anger mixed with contempt that was little flattering to Florestan or his son, the Duke of Valentinois. It would have been a sheer waste of time to discuss them, and therefore it was not attempted. The removal of the Sardinian troops was simply out of the question, as it would be making over to an enemy a strongly-fortified place enclosed within the kingdom of Sardinia. To form a distinct and separate state of Monaco would be draining Mentone and Roccabruna, at whose expense it was to be effected, for the mere purpose of putting those two towns within reach of their former master; and by ceding to Monaco the road up to where it joins the Corniche at the foot of Roccabruna, would

be placing in the prince's hands the most important commercial communication of the two self-liberated towns; and, lastly, to restore his sequestered property with its produce since 1848 was so ridiculous a stipulation, when one considers what by one means and another his property was made to produce, that the authorities of the free towns could not believe it to have been seriously made, and so the whole matter was at once rejected.

On the 22nd of September, 1852, an opportunity presented itself to these seemingly unfortunate people to lay their cause before Prince Louis Napoleon, and enlist his sympathy on their behalf. He was on his way to Toulon, and a deputation from the two communes of Mentone and Roccabruna, presided over by M. Auguste Massa, the mayor of Mentone, was received by the president of the French Republic, and presented him with the following address :—

'To His Highness the Prince President of the French Republic.'

'PRINCE,

'Eight million of votes have called you to the first magistrature of the most liberal of the great nations of Europe. The remembrances called forth

by your name, Prince, are engraved on the hearts of all, and all are persuaded that a new era of prosperity will be inaugurated by you, for those people by whom you are called on to govern. The unanimous cry of joy that the French caused to resound to salute that happy event was re-echoed by the inhabitants of Mentone and Roccabruna; and we, Prince, their representatives, are happy and proud to bring this before you, and to offer you the homage of their liveliest gratitude for the kindly expressions which you deigned to use in respect to our citizens, who now place their trust in you that their destinies may be settled by the definite annexation of their country to the states of H. M. the King of Sardinia. You are not ignorant of the long sufferings of a population who always nourished the warmest sympathies for France, of a population that shed its blood on all the battle-fields at the period of the great wars; that in the days of June gave its share of martyrs, and that can still reckon many brave fellows in the ranks of your glorious army. Prince, you who have saved Europe from the abyss that seemed about to destroy it, you who have averted the storm that menaced society with such calamities, accomplish the mission that God

has confided to you for the happiness of mankind, and you will be justly called the Man of Providence.

'*Mentone*, 19*th September*, 1852.'

Beneath were the signatures of the mayor and members of the municipal council of Mentone and Roccabruna.

Louis Napoleon received them with marked kindness, and the commission carried away with them the assurance of his sympathy in their cause, and hope that he would use his powerful aid in bringing about their definite annexation to Sardinia. Still, during the two years that ensued no thought was given to the question; the greater and more important matters then occupying Europe causing this little corner of the earth with its hopes and fears to be almost forgotten, except, indeed, by the Duke of Valentinois, who clung more than ever to getting back the large portion of his principality, which had severed itself from his dominion; and all advances made by Sardinia for the cession of Monaco town, with the rest of the ex-principality, were indignantly cast back. This was mainly owing to a scheme he had formed of creating an international bank at Monaco, and where all the financial commerce of the Mediterranean was to be centralized; this movement had for its object great

gain to the prince, or rather his son, in whom all power was now vested. It was, in fact, a vast stock-jobbing affair, another method of coining money, and one not over creditable to a prince. Thus the Duke of Valentinois was not likely to listen to any offers Sardinia might be disposed to make; and with the prospect of wealth hope came to life that he might yet get back the inheritance of his ancestors. He left no means untried to gain his ends; he appealed to various governments; he declared himself robbed through the ambitious intriguing of Sardinia; he pointed out, wherever he told his tale, that it was to the interest of all Europe to maintain the treaties of 1815. (It was a pity coming events could not have cast their shadows before them; and Charles, Duke of Valentinois, would have seen how much the treaties of 1815 were worth.) To Austria he even went so far as to say that he would give up the principality to the first power that lifted its hand in his defence. Later, England and Prussia were deluded into passing some remarks condemnatory to the proceedings of the Sardinian government; but they were soon retracted at the very first explanations offered, and the different courts of Europe were content to leave the Prince of Monaco in the position to

which his own misdeeds had brought him. Yet he could not remain quiet; he next endeavoured to win over the French press to his cause, but, with the exception of one or two avowed enemies of Sardinia, no paper upheld him. Amongst these was the *Union*, a paper that had gained a celebrity for itself by the ease with which it opened its columns to calumnies and falsehoods, and by its systematic abuse of the Piedmontese government. The present occasion was therefore too good a one to be lost, and it gave vent to the sentiments entertained by the Duke of Valentinois with a heartiness worthy of a better cause. This called forth an energetic refutation by the people of Mentone, which was written by the municipality, and sent to the *Union* for publication. This was all the duke gained by enlisting the press on his side.

Some ill-advised people recommended the duke to ride on the Mentone and Roccabruna roads, and thus by bringing himself again before his former subjects, perhaps make some way in their good graces. Every day he advanced nearer to the towns; till one day a citizen of Mentone with four others met the prince when he was about to cross the frontier of the territory, which in 1848 it had been found necessary to banish him from, and cautiously advised him not to

expose himself to the antipathy of a people who had not yet learnt to forget him. The duke in a rage declared he would come again on the following day to the same spot with an armed force. Had he carried out his threat he would have found such a multitude to contend with, that he and his armed force would have been glad to withdraw; but he did not attempt it on this occasion.

On the 20th of June, 1853, Charles Trenca died, at the age of fifty-two, mourned truly and deeply by all who knew him. On the 4th of June, 1854 a marble tablet was placed in the wall on the front of his house, to which every one in the two free towns subscribed their mite. On it Dr Bottini caused the following inscription to be engraved:—

A
CARLO TRENCA
CAVALIERE COMMENDATORE DEI SANTI MAURIZIO E LAZARO
PRESIDE AL GOVERNO AGLI STUDI ALLA MILIZIA NATIONALE
DI MENTONE E ROCCABRUNA
PER DOTTRINA PER PATRIA CARITA PER VIRTU
PRECLARO BENEMERITO CARISSIMO
I MEMORI CONCITTADINI
4 GIUGNO 1854.

The military and civil authorities, the artizans, workmen, and sailors were all present on the occasion.

Before the curtain that covered it was raised, two speeches, one in Italian by Dr Bottini, the other in French by M. Gastaldi, were made, and spoken with eloquence and deep feeling; then the tablet was uncovered, and the people all dispersed sorrowfully and silently. To learn how valued and loved that man was in life, it is sufficient to hear him spoken of now, thirteen years after his death. You will be told that none ever equalled him, and to him they owed everything, their freedom and almost their life.

CHAPTER XV.

CHARLES III.

The Duke of Valentinois now made his last and most famous attempt to gain back his lost inheritance. On the 6th of April, 1854, at two in the morning, he left Nice, where he had stayed the previous night, and took the road to Mentone in a gorgeous carriage drawn by six horses, with the Grimaldi arms blazoned on the panels and harness. Accompanying him was M. Bellando, his aide-de-camp, his doctor, M. Chevalet, and a servant on the box. The duke and M. Bellando wore the uniform of the principality, and the former had on all his orders. At six in the morning they reached Mentone, and drove to the Hôtel de Turin.*

The town was completely deserted, the people were not yet about. The duke and his aide-de-camp began to look anxiously around them, without, however, alighting. At last three or four people ap-

* Now the Hôtel d'Angleterre, situated on the Place Napoléon, in the centre of the principal street of the town.

proached the carriage and cried, '*Vive le Prince!*' At this some thirty or forty persons, who had received their orders, rushed out and commenced unharnessing the horses, then they dragged the carriage up the street towards the *Hôtel de Ville*, carrying a Grimaldi flag before them, and shouting, '*Vive le Prince! A bas le Piedmont!*'

By this time people began to hear of what was going on, and all hastened to the spot where the duke and his hired supporters were. The alarm being given, the National Guard soon turned out, and the whole joined in one cry against the duke and his hirelings. These latter, seeing how matters were likely to turn, at once took to their heels, leaving the duke, by their cowardly desertion, alone, to meet the fury of the mob. He now got out of his carriage and stood amidst the exasperated people with his sword in his hand. Fortunately for him, at this moment M. Tordo, the quarter-master, came up, and, with some of his men, all of whom were armed, placed himself before him. He was only just in time, as his cloak received the injury intended to have been inflicted on the duke's body, by the thrust of a bayonet.

The duke now asked the quarter-master to conduct him to some place of safety, whilst the mob, on the

other hand, demanded to have him delivered over to them, amidst cries of, '*A bas le Prince! Vive le Roi!*' However, M. Tordo, with the aid of the troops, whom he had brought to order, succeeded in getting the duke safely to the barracks. By this time the news of what was going on reached Roccabruna, and the people from there rushed down armed with anything and everything they could lay their hands on, to help their brothers of Mentone.

M. de la Marmora, then Intendant-general at Nice, receiving from the Mayor of Mentone intimation of what had taken place, at once hastened there accompanied by M. Faraldo. They reached Mentone at six in the evening. The streets were crowded, but there was no disorder. On seeing La Marmora arrive they greeted him with shouts of, '*Vive le Roi! Vive Victor Emmanuel!*' The Intendant now made himself thoroughly acquainted with everything that had taken place, listening to the accounts, not alone of the authorities, but also of the people; then he proceeded to the barracks to have an interview with the duke. He found him angry and indignant, protesting against his arrest, and declaring he had had no other intention beyond passing through Mentone, where he stopped for change of horses on his way to Genoa. M. de la Mar-

mora observed that it was unfortunate appearances were so greatly against him; his dress was not a usual one for travelling, nor his carriage either. There was an absence of luggage, and he offered no opposition to his being dragged through the town. As to his arrest, as he termed his removal to the barracks, it was merely taking measures to save his life. He likewise pointed out to him that the attempt he had made, and which had so completely failed, was most ill-advised; that he might rest assured the few who had proffered him their aid in the enterprise were men who would fight for any cause which they found paid them.

The duke now demanded to be allowed to continue his journey, but M. de la Marmora told him this he could not permit him to do; that were it for no other reason the populace were in that infuriated state, that his life would be in danger were he to attempt it. The duke was forced to submit, and it was decided he should be removed to the fortress of Villafranca, and there detained, with all due regard being paid to his position, till the government of Sardinia decided what was to be done. The difficulty now arose as to how the duke was to be got safely to his carriage, he having some little distance to walk before reaching it. The people were loud in protesting against his removal;

they wanted, before he was taken out of their power, some guarantee that he would never return. However, M. de la Marmora went to the *Place* and there addressed the people, and succeeded in calming them for a time. This opportunity was taken advantage of, and, with the aid of the authorities and the most influential of the citizens, the duke was enabled to reach his carriage without any violence being offered him. His aide-de-camp and physician went with him. Cries of '*A bas le Prince !*' followed him till he was beyond the hearing of their voices. Before leaving the barracks the duke, touched by the manner in which he had been rescued by M. Tordo, left the following note for him :—

'I am pleased to recognize that the quarter-master Tordo, commanding the station of the royal carbiniers at Mentone, did to-day, in the exercise of his functions, show great devotion for the preservation of my person.

(Signed) 'CHARLES, Hereditary Prince of Monaco.

'*Mentone, 6th April*, 1854.'

La Marmora followed the duke in another carriage to Villafranca, where, with his aide-de-camp, he was confined in the fortress. The doctor was allowed to go

free. Every care was taken that due respect and attention was paid the duke. After a detention of four days instructions came from Turin to set him at liberty. The first thing he did on gaining his freedom was to write the following garbled account of what had taken place to King Victor Emmanuel, endeavouring to give him as false an impression as could well be done with a certain amount of truth as a foundation.

'SIRE,

'I will not quit your Majesty's states without letting you know of the unjustifiable conduct of your authorities in reference to me. On the 6th of April, when passing through the town of Mentone to reach Genoa, accompanied by an ordinance officer and a physician, I was waiting for the post-horses, already asked for several times, when I was recognized and surrounded by a crowd of people of all conditions, who, in the midst of cries, took possession of my carriage and dragged it along, making me pass through the streets of that town. This demonstration, which was entirely peaceful, was made without any opposition, when your troops were seen to arrive, sire, and your carbiniers, who after loading their weapons, drove

their bayonets at the inoffensive crowd by which I was surrounded, brutally dispersed them, and arrested about thirty people, whilst an armed band, decorated with the name of Civic Guard, threw themselves on me, and would certainly have assassinated me, without the energetic intervention of the *gendarmes*, who, however, were unable to prevent my clothes being cut by the thrusts of the bayonets. At the end of this violence I was arrested by your troops, sire, and detained during fifteen hours in the barracks of the *gendarmerie*, up to the moment when the Intendant-general, refusing to allow me to continue my journey to Genoa, came, and carried me away from Mentone to transfer me as a state prisoner to the fort of Villafranca. Finally, after four days' detention, my liberty was restored to me without explanation, and forced to enter France, whilst I had the intention of going in the contrary direction.

'Without carrying up to the throne the responsibility of an outrage which recalls the most revolutionary times, I would respectfully ask your Majesty by what right his authorities, after arresting me on territory that by no title can claim to be a part of the Sardinian States, permitted themselves illegally to cast me into a state prison. I would ask you if it is in

trying to despoil the father and in persecuting the son that the government of His Majesty the King of Sardinia loyally carries out towards the princes of Monaco the protectorate, which was confided to him by treaties. Finally, sire, I dare assure your Majesty, with respectful frankness, that if by any open reparation you do not disapprove of the imprudent servitors who do not fear to use your name to commit such an abuse of power, you will expose yourself to public opinion declaring in favour of the weak against the strong, for the oppressed against the oppressor. Deign, sire, to accept the homage of profound respect, with which I have the honour to be, sire,

'Your majesty's most humble and obedient servant,

'CHARLES, Prince Hereditary of Monaco,

'Duke of Valentinois.

'*Nice, 12th April,* 1854.'

A protest was now got up by the duke's supporters, against their annexation to Sardinia; and though they numbered only that handful of cowards, who in the moment of danger ran away and left him, yet they spoke as if they formed the entire population of the two free towns. The address was concluded by a declaration of their increasing devotion to the prince

and his family. The only reply made by the people of Mentone and Roccabruna to this falsehood was an address to the King of Sardinia, signed by 838 of the principal people of the place, including the municipal councils of both towns, indignantly denying that any one belonging to either town had even knowledge, much less signed the address to the Duke of Valentinois, and again implored for their annexation to Sardinia; pointing out the impossibility of their ever again submitting to the rule of the Prince of Monaco, the period of whose cruel administration formed so great a contrast to their present prosperity and happiness. This was written on the 9th of May, 1854.

Six years previously 568 names had signed the petition to Charles Albert praying for an annexation, and now 838 were attached to the address, which proves how earnest was their desire for unity with Piedmont; as the bitterness of the moment which prompted the first petition whilst under recently inflicted wrongs must have partially died out, yet clearly the longing to be thoroughly severed from the princes of Monaco had not. On the same day as this petition was written, the following was addressed to the Emperor of the French, by the Mayor of Mentone, M. Massa:—

'SIRE,

'When your Imperial Majesty deigned to receive at Toulon a deputation of the municipal councils of Mentone and Roccabruna, you not only received it with kindness, but more, you promised your powerful support to hasten the definite union of the two communes of Piedmont. The events that have taken place in that town determined the inhabitants to present an address to His Majesty the King of Sardinia, praying there should be no farther delay in the annexation of the two places. I have the honour of transmitting a copy of it to your Imperial Majesty. This will place before you, Sire, the motives which exact for this population an end being put to the indecision with which its future is surrounded.

'The terrible condition which for thirty-three years these people were in drove them in 1848 to withdraw from the rule of the princes of Monaco. To state that instruction was abolished, the municipal bodies suppressed, the property of the country confounded with the prince's patrimony, who also took possession of the funds belonging to the churches, charitable gifts, and of the revenues of the state; and to add to these the enormous taxes that crushed these two coun-

tries, would be to raise up in these days sorry remembrances of the middle ages.

'The two countries gave themselves at first an independent government, in order then to proclaim their union with Piedmont, whose king possesses incontestable rights of sovereignty over these two communes. The clergy, the principal landed proprietors, those capable of judging, all, in fact, concurred in the fulfilment of this great act.

'The firm desire of this population to be united to Sardinia has endured the hard trial of the reverses of Custosa and Milan; even the defeat of Novara could not destroy it.

'And now, sire, after six years it clings more than ever to its resolution, as your Imperial Majesty may assure yourself by the immense number of signatures attached to the fresh appeal, which amount to 838, whilst the number obtained in 1848, when the two countries voted for their fusion with Sardinia, only reached 568. You, sire, who are justly called the Man of Providence—you, who have saved Europe from the troubles that menaced her—deign to accord us your powerful support, and bring about the realization of our most ardent wishes; and you will accomplish a

deed of humanity which will draw on your Imperial Majesty the benediction of the Most High.'

This address to the emperor was placed in the hands of M. Drouyn de Lhuys, minister for foreign affairs, together with a copy of the petition to Victor Emmanuel. Both were laid before His Majesty, and met with the same quiet courtesy as was granted to the deputation at Toulon. Thus, hope was still kept strong, and the belief that annexation must soon take place was not shaken.

However, it was not to be, and a far better fate was in store for these people, who were deserving of being united to a liberal and enlightened country.

In the mean while the two towns actively carried on such improvements and modification in the taxation of the country as their slender means admitted. Their first act on obtaining their freedom in 1848 had been to reduce the enormous taxes levied on imported corn and flour. All export duties on bitter oranges, essences, lemon-juice, orange flowers, grapes, and vermicelli, were entirely taken off, and those on oranges and lemons greatly reduced. Thus the taxes, which in the prince's time amounted on these articles alone to 72,000 francs, were since 1848 reduced to 20,000. The revenue raised by this iniquitous taxation laid on

and maintained by the three last princes of Monaco amounted to 300,000 francs, the whole of which was spent out of the principality. Now 80,000 was all that was realized by the two towns, but that was expended in the country.

The improvements they effected had to be done slowly; but it was not from any want of will or lack of energy, but from the impoverished state of their exchequer. However, by degrees much was done. They commenced with the hospital, which was enlarged so as to contain double the number of inmates it had formerly done. They then turned their attention to the increased facility of education; and the public school, which had hitherto had but one master, had eight more attached to it; a school for girls was also founded. The churches were restored, and the cemetery enlarged, a matter which had become very necessary, as hitherto the bodies were periodically exhumed to make room for others; and as the population was rapidly increasing, this became an important thing to be attended to. Water was very scarce, and indeed it is so still. Three fountains were all that existed in the town of Mentone; now two more were added, one on the *Place Napoléon*, the other in the market-place. The town was lighted by

four lanterns only, and these all in the *Rue St Michel;* this number was increased to thirty-two, greatly to the advantage of those people who did not go to bed at sunset. The road to Sospello, which only reached one-third the way, was completed. The Gorbio bridge, called the *Pont de l'Union*, was constructed, thus proving what might have been done long years back under a different administration. Roccabruna was not idle either. A school for boys was opened there; the streets were paved, and an excellent road from their village leading to the Nice road was made. A fountain was placed on the *Place*, the church restored, and a cemetery was walled-in large enough to last as long as the place itself, to judge from appearances, the huge blocks of detached rocks looking ready at any moment to fall and crush it beneath them.

At Monaco from 1854 to 1860 events were few and improvements less. On the 20th of June, 1856, Florestan I. died at the age of seventy-one. On the 15th of March, 1858, Prince Charles III. instituted the order of St Charles, wherewith to decorate some of his true and loyal subjects. On the 18th of July, 1860, the Piedmontese troops were recalled

from Monaco, and left in the Sardinian steamer *Malfatano*, and the place removed from under the protection of the King of Sardinia. These are the only events that bear any claim to be recorded.

The improvements consisted in the construction of a large bathing and hydropathic establishment, now under the direction of Dr Hercourt, and a gambling-house, both made in 1856. The former was started by a company, and has succeeded admirably, the situation being thoroughly adapted to the purpose: the latter by an individual, and has proved even more successful than the former. First opened in the town at a house immediately facing the palace or the *Place*, it was soon found that the scheme was so very lucrative to one, that when M. Blanc, hearing he had a rival in his business on the shores of the Mediterranean, came and made an offer to the prince of building a Casino on the same principles and with the same attractive additions as existed at Homburg and Baden-Baden, at which places he was the director and proprietor, it was gladly accepted, and an arrangement was entered into by which M. Blanc was to hold a lease for sixty years of the land called the Spelùgnes, where he was to build his Casino and anything else he

liked,† on the payment of 50,000 francs a year to the Prince of Monaco.

Workmen were now gathered from all parts of the littoral, Mentone included, to proceed with the construction of the handsome building that now exists. A little incident arose out of this which gave Prince Charles the opportunity of accusing the Mentonaises of having sinister intentions against Monaco. It appears that the workmen were not paid their wages very regularly, and on one occasion so long a time had elapsed without their receiving any money at all, that they resolved to cease working and go to the town in a body, and demand their wages. They, however, did not get the chance of their claim being heard; as they were no sooner seen approaching than they were arrested, on the plea of their being Mentonaises endeavouring to induce the Monacians to rise up in revolt against their prince. They were put in prison, and not liberated for some time. This, however, proved a caution to the Mentonaises as to how they in future accepted employment within the principality of Monaco.

* * * * * * *

† He has built a first-rate hotel, called the Hôtel de Paris, and a charming villa for his own occupation, called '*La Villa Violette.*'

The war between Austria and Sardinia and France was over; the treaty of Villafranca was signed, and Victor Emmanuel had become King of Italy. Every hour whilst this celebrated war was being carried on was one of anxious expectancy in Mentone. The people, thoroughly Italian at heart, longed, as much as the king himself could do, for the unity of the Peninsula. Monaco was equally anxious, but from selfish motives, for Charles hoped events would so turn as to restore to him the two lost towns.

Such were the feelings of both when the people of Mentone and Roccabruna were called on to record their votes on the 15th and 16th of April, at the same time as Nice, as to whether Yes or No they would be annexed to France. This unexpected, unthought-of notice for the moment struck the people dumb with amazement and sorrow; for there is not the slightest doubt that the bare idea of being severed from Italy, which they loved with a romantic fervour little understood in our northern country, and whose language, tastes, habits were all their own, was one of deep and intense bitterness. No thought was given to the advantages they would derive from their union with France; they only saw and felt that their hope of union with Sardinia was a dream of the past, a dream

from which their sudden wakening had increased rather than mitigated their sorrow. The alternative, which, for the sake of form, France had left optional with them, of returning to the dominion of the Prince of Monaco, never for an instant crossed their minds, or if it had, it would only have been to cast it aside as worse a thousand times over than becoming French.

Not so, however, with the prince himself, who, urged on by his mother, the widow of Prince Florestan (who is still living, and resides with her son at Monaco), set all his energies to work to induce the people of the two towns to vote for their restoration to the principality, which would henceforth be under the protection of France; but the endeavour was attended with no results either way; the fact was, that the people were too much occupied with the new future that was being thrust on them to take the slightest heed of the prince or anything he did.

The municipal authorities used every exertion to induce the people to vote aright; as they were clear-sighted enough to feel that it would be wiser and better to consent with a good grace to what was inevitable. The consequence was that 695 votes were recorded for the annexation and only fifty-four against it.

Charles III. now protested against this decision, and claimed indemnification should France still persist in annexing the two towns which formerly belonged to the principality, as proposed by the emperor himself, when Prince President of the Republic, at the time their annexation to Sardinia was contemplated. This led to negotiations being opened in Paris, which resulted in a treaty being signed on the 2nd of February, 1861, by M. Faugère on the part of France, and Count Avigdor on the part of the Prince of Monaco; by which Charles III. ceded all his rights over the two towns of Mentone and Roccabruna and their adjoining territories, to France, on the payment of 4,000,000 francs by that country, and undertaking at the same time to cause the projected railway between Nice and Genoa to pass through Monaco,* and construct a carriage-road from Nice to Monaco, by Villafranca and the coast.†

Charles now endeavoured to claim possession of Cape Martin‡ and the olive wood leading from it up to Roccabruna. The claim was disputed at Mentone, but failing to be settled on the spot, M. de Monléon,

* Appendix E.

† This is now completed, as also the railway from Nice to Monaco.

‡ Appendix F.

Mayor of Mentone, proceeded to Paris to lay the question before the emperor. The prince, however, feeling assured that by this appeal the matter was certain to go against him, desisted, and withdrew his pretensions.

From this time on, Monaco having accepted her position and ceased to intrigue, has led a quiet and prosperous existence, domestic events alone forming landmarks in her history. By his marriage with Mademoiselle de Merode, who died three years ago, Prince Charles has one son, who bears the title of Duke of Valentinois. In 1862 the Princess Florentine, only sister to Charles III., married Prince Frederic, cousin to King William I. of Wurtemberg. The Prince of Monaco has had the misfortune to lose his eyesight, and is totally blind.

Mentone and Roccabruna have begun to see the immense advantage their annexation to France has been to them. The country is hardly to be recognized from what it was; and though here and there you may still hear murmurings, the mass of the people are content with their lot.

CONCLUSION.

Some few words on the social state of the three towns, which till 1848 formed the principality of Monaco, may not be uninteresting to the English reader of this history.

To begin with Monaco, now the capital of itself. It is a little town with clean and straightly-built streets, containing about 1200 inhabitants. It stands on a projecting rock, 300 feet above the level of the sea, commanding magnificent views of the coast from Bordighera, on the east, to Antibes, on the west. There is little of interest in the town itself beyond a few dark churches and the palace, the latter being difficult, when the prince is there, to gain admission to; still it is well worth while to try and do so. The court is very fine, and is entirely enclosed. On the left, on entering it, is a magnificent double staircase of white marble, by which a gallery is gained, and from thence one reaches the reception rooms. On the right of the court are some very fine frescoes, by Caravage;

these, which were getting utterly destroyed by neglect, have recently been thoroughly restored. Some of the apartments of the palace are really magnificently decorated, especially the one called *La grande salle Grimaldi;* the frescoes on the walls, and the ceiling, which is thirty feet in height, are executed by Horace de Ferrari; the chimney-piece in this room, which is of an enormous size, is one solid piece of marble, carved over with curious devices, and in the centre are two angels unrolling a scroll, on which is written: *Qui dicit se nosse Deum et mandata ejus non custodit, mendax est.* (The man who pretends to know God and does not keep his commandments, is a liar.)

The room in which the Duke of York died is very handsomely furnished in crimson satin and gold; the ceiling is also beautifully painted. The other apartments have nothing remarkable in them, being like any other rooms in a well-appointed house, and that are used only on state occasions. Pictures hang on almost all the walls, but very few are of any real worth. The private gardens belonging to the palace are extremely pretty, as they could not fail to be, and as everything approaching a garden in this climate must be, especially to English eyes, as we see them at a season when our own are but blackened deserts,

canopied with dark grey; whilst here every flower that we know as glass-house and frequently hot-house plants are growing in the open air, and this during the depth of winter; beneath a sun, however, from which we require the shelter of a double sunshade, and a sky of a deep dense blue. There are some fine palm-trees in the garden, a tree less common at Monaco than at other places along the Rivièra. At a small hotel, called the *Belle-Vue*, which any one going to Monaco town about the middle of February would do well to visit in order to see the little garden, they will find some trees well worth noticing, they being mostly in full leaf when elsewhere on the rock the young leaves are but just appearing; this is particularly remarkable in the fig-tree, the fruit of which arrives at its full growth in this spot by the end of March. The garden is exposed to the whole power of the midday sun, and perfectly sheltered from that withering wind, the mistral; but as a rule Monaco is not so warm as Mentone.

On Good Friday a singular custom prevails at Monaco. It is the performance of the 'Passion of our Lord.' At nine at night the town is illuminated, and the chapel attached to the palace is decorated. A procession is then formed by the people of the town, who

represent the various actors in the scene. First comes a tribune on horseback, followed by soldiers with caps on their heads and spears in their hands; then comes the Christ: he is weeping as if overcome with sorrow, and walks with his head bent down. Then a man approaches him and delivers him up to be bound and scourged, and covered with a purple mantle. The cock then is heard to crow. Herod is present, carrying an absurd-looking umbrella over his head. Peter is seen to brandish his sword, and Malchus rubs his ear, and then points to it. The condemning judge is represented, and washes his hands. The soldiers then cast lots for the garments, and the executioner prepares for what he has to do. Then the representative of our Saviour falls beneath the weight of the cross which has been given him to bear; after this he is attached to it and expires.

The cries of death are heard, a sponge is dipped in vinegar, the spear is used. Mary Magdalene weeps, and St John is seen standing with the lamb in his arms looking sorrowfully on. This scene is followed by a procession, which passes by, consisting of people who represent Adam and Eve, the serpent, the angel with the flaming sword, Judith and her servant, St Lawrence with his gridiron, St Philomel and his

anchor, and bringing up the rear are the twelve apostles, with the instruments of their sacrifice. In the centre of all, the Roman flag is borne. All these individuals, who are resuscitated for the occasion, are present at the interment of our Lord. His body being now placed on a litter beneath a canopy, and surrounded by lights, the drums beat, the holy women weep, the people murmur prayers, whilst the procession walks towards the church, enters it, and the body is placed in the tomb. A sermon on the Passion concludes this awful and sacrilegious exhibition. Yet the people, in their ignorance, are earnest enough, and it would fare ill with any one amongst the crowd, which generally assembles from all parts of the country to witness the ceremony, were anything like scoffing or laughter to be seen. The Bishop of Nice is said to have protested against the continuation of this custom, but as yet his protest has been disregarded.

The Casino is, however, the great attraction to Monaco. People abuse it and say it reflects discredit on the French government for not having insisted on its suppression; yet none go more frequently to it than those who cry it down. The building is very handsome though plain; there is a reading-room with the periodicals and journals of almost every country; a

magnificent ball-room, where an Austrian band plays daily from two to four, and from eight to ten. Balls are given occasionally as well as concerts and theatricals. The grounds are delightful; the terrace alone is worth going to see. People need not set their foot inside the gambling-room. This last spring an order was issued forbidding any of the inhabitants of the Maritime Alps from entering it, much to their indignation, and they endeavoured to force their way in; but the *gendarmes* appeared, and, after a harmless scuffle, they were forced to submit to the imperial decree. They are at liberty, however, to enjoy and share in all the amusements consequent on the existence of a Casino. It may be very immoral, very wrong, and lead to the destruction of many; but it certainly renders the place most attractive; and proof exists, very near to Monaco, that it does not do more harm or cause more ruin than gambling at clubs, where there is no one to enforce honesty or prevent cheating, and where no limit exists to the stakes.

The principality of Monaco is now about three and a half miles in extent. The people are neither rich nor poor. Poverty, as we understand it in England, does not exist in this part of the world at all. They beg for a *sou* more from habit than anything else; but all are

well clothed, well shod, and well fed. Hardly any one exists that does not possess their own little plot of land, the produce of which is amply sufficient for their support. Those who own hundreds of olives will ask you for charity as persistently as those who perhaps can boast but of one as their patrimony. Begging is no sign of want here. Society—there is none; a few retired officers, and those who surround the prince and his family, compose the better class. Little hospitality is dispensed at the palace on account of the affliction under which Charles III. suffers.

The road from Monaco to Mentone is one unceasing scene of beauty. Cut along the face of the mountain, on the summit of which stands Turbia, it has on the left the heights covered with the fig, fir, and juniper trees, and the euphorbia, which plant grows here to an enormous size, the bushes in some places being between four and five feet in height; on the left the steep slopes, cut in terraces, which are all cultivated, leading down to the sea, form a perfect forest of carob or locust trees, and olives, which their gnarled trunks render extremely picturesque; and one feels thankful, amidst the glare and brightness around one, to rest the eye on their sombre green leaves.

Soon after passing out of Monaco there lies on

the sea-shore a grotto called *La Vieille*, a corruption, doubtless, of *Veille*, as formerly it was a sentinel's post. A curious legend is attached to it. It is said that when the Duke of York was dying at Monaco, a pleasure yacht, which had followed the ship the duke was in, cast anchor at this spot, and a young and beautiful woman came on shore, and that during the whole time the duke lay ill this lady was seen standing in front of the grotto with her eyes fixed on the palace; but the day the English vessel hoisted the British flag half-mast high that day she sprang into the waves, and was seen no more. The peasants have a superstitious dread of the place.

Midway to Mentone we reach the base of the hill on which Roccabruna stands. A little town of 1600 inhabitants, looking like a jumbled-up mass of grey ruins from the distance, and on a nearer approach its appearance fully carries out the legend concerning it, which is, that the whole town slipped down from the summit of the mountain, where, indeed, the huge empty space immediately above it seems likely to have been the place it formerly stood on, and that it must inevitably have gone straight down into the sea, but that the patron saint of Roccabruna came to the rescue, and appeared just in time to save them from so

terrible a fate; he raised his hands and forbad the falling mass to come farther; it immediately stopped in its downward course, where it now is, perched amidst a multitude of huge blocks of rock, some of them forming sides to the houses, which unluckily tends to shake our faith in the legend, and leads us to think the houses were built after the fall.

The streets are narrow and extremely steep, which, considering how the town is hooked on to the side of an almost perpendicular mountain, is not surprising. Ladders do duty for stairs in the houses, and daylight is little known in them. This darkness, however, they covet, they having to contend against heat almost all the year round. On first reaching the town it strikes you as being deserted, no one is to be seen, and nothing heard; but soon one child makes its appearance, then others join it, and they stand gazing at you from a distance, till they are reinforced by a sufficient number to give them strength in case of need; then they near you, closer and closer, till at last you are literally hedged in by a mass of dirty children that will no longer let you stir an inch but in their company whilst you remain on their territory. Sometimes they howl at you; but as a rule they only stare. Still this is by no means agreeable, when you have

learnt to know their peculiar ignorance of the use of combs and brushes.

There is nothing worth seeing at Roccabruna but itself, that is, its marvellous position and the beauty of the scenery around; and to enjoy that it is worth while climbing up to the unpicturesque ruins. It is now that one begins to fret at the abominable nuisance of having between twenty and thirty children around you, when you would give worlds to witness the grandeur of the view in peace and quiet. But this is a drawback attendant on all visits to villages in the mountains; yet at Roccabruna one might have hoped, from the proximity to the high road, they would have become accustomed to seeing people a little cleaner-looking than themselves, and so discontinued this annoyance; but they are not one atom more civilized than the peasantry of Gorbio or Castellàre, two villages in the neighbourhood, but buried in the mountains, and approachable by mule-paths only.

Good Friday is commemorated in the same manner exactly at Roccabruna as it is at Monaco, only the 5th of August is the day set apart for the ceremony, instead of the day itself, and it commences at four in the afternoon. On inquiring why it was not performed on Good Friday itself, the explanation

given was, that it was more convenient to celebrate the day in summer, that the 5th of August was the fête day of their patron saint, and if they were to choose Good Friday for the ceremony no one would attend it, as people would prefer witnessing it at Monaco, where it is done, comparatively speaking, 'regardless of expense.'

Without returning by the carriage road, we can join the imperial road lower down, facing Cape Martin, and leaving Roccabruna at the opposite end of the town to what we entered it, descend by a mule-path through a magnificent forest of olive trees, many of them fully able to bear comparison with some of our finest oaks. Several of them are said to be upwards of 1000 years old. We now find ourselves once again on the Nice road, and after a short distance we reach Carnolès, formerly the palace of the princes of Monaco, but now let as a furnished villa to any one who will pay 12,000 francs for the season, that is, from the first of November till the first of May; it is called the Villa Victoria. Ill-luck has, however, attended the house up to the present time. It was two or three years ago opened as a sort of club, for which half a franc entrance was charged; the gardens were laid out in croquet grounds and for other amusements;

but it did not answer, and it was closed in the spring of 1866. The winter of 1866-1867 it was let unfortunately; that is, the English family who took it lost all their money at Monaco, and found it more convenient to leave the house by moonlight than by daylight; having omitted to pay their rent or their bills before taking their hasty departure.

A little farther on the town of Mentone commences; the most considerable by far of the three towns, it having a population of nearly 5000 inhabitants. It is situated between Cape Martin and the rocks of the bridge of Saint Louis; the sea advances on either side, thus forming two semi-circles, which are called the eastern and western bay. On the north it is sheltered by high rocks, the beauty and grandeur of which, when viewed from the Borrigo Valley, are unsurpassed in any part of the world. Thus Mentone is so protected that its climate is peculiarly adapted for people suffering from diseases of the lungs; the mistral rarely penetrates here, and the mistral is the preventative to the climate in the south of France attaining perfection.

The old town is built on the slope of a hill, ending by a point jutting into the sea, on which a bastion is built. The streets are steep, and most of them can

be traversed only on foot or on donkeys. Cutting the old town in two, is one good wide street, the *Rue St Michel*, a continuation of the imperial road from Nice to Genoa. Here are the principal shops and several hotels (though the latter are spread about in every direction), both of which are extremely good; indeed, there is nothing you cannot have in Mentone if you chose to pay for it. The bazaar, which occupies a prominent place in this street, is a perfect emporium; it contains everything from books to bathing-drawers, and from ball-dresses to knitting-needles, that any man, woman, or child can possibly require. Great credit is due to M. Amaranthe for the way he exerts himself to procure everything the numerous foreigners who visit his shop are likely to want. There are two good chemists, one of them having an English assistant in the shop, a great advantage to many who go here unable to speak a word of French or Italian.

Though there are plenty of villas to be had, and more being built, they have to be secured in time, generally they are taken one winter for the next. There are two English churches, one in each bay; one High, the other Low; thus every one can suit themselves. There are English, German, and Italian doctors, yet none of them are more sought after, more trusted, or

whose services are more highly valued, than Dr Jean Bottini, a Mentonais, a man whose long experience and great ability render him well fitted for the duties he is called on to perform.

Carriages at Mentone are expensive, and can only be hired by the day or month; none yet ply for hire in the town. But there are donkeys in abundance, and always in great requisition; they are much larger and finer-looking animals than one sees in the north.

There are two matters in which there is ample room for improvement in Mentone, and they are in the washing of linen and in the cleanliness of the streets, that is, the by-streets and the footpaths leading up to the mountains. The former is generally rendered dirtier by the process it goes through than it could possibly have been previously. Some fifty women will be gathered together, each sitting inside a long shallow basket made from the palm, and a large, round, flat hat on their heads, to shelter them from the burning sun, looking extremely picturesque (for the Mentonaises are handsome, well-made women), around a little pool, which has been formed in a hole, by the thread-like stream coming from the mountains; and this water is not even clean, as the water from the olive mills, a dark brown, greasy fluid,

runs into the streams in all directions. Water is extremely scarce at Mentone; they are sometimes, as they were during the year 1866, nine months without a drop of rain falling. There are, however, plenty of springs constantly being discovered, yet no steps are taken to turn them to account for public use. Keeping the footpaths and narrow streets clean would be a very easy matter to remedy, but one almost as essential.

The walks about Mentone are exquisitely beautiful, and a fresh one may be found every day. From January till the end of March the ground is perfectly carpeted with violets; other wild-flowers too numerous to name grow in profusion. Excursions can be made on donkeys to the summit of many of the surrounding rocks, and to numerous villages studded over the mountains. The drives are not so plentiful; still there are five distinct roads, which, considering the sea borders the entire south, is not being worse off than could be expected.

The palm trees in M. Morenno's garden at Bordighera, the second Italian town after crossing the frontier at the Port St Louis, draw all visitors from Mentone to see them; but unfortunately the owner, though courteous enough himself, and, when able

to be about, always grants permission to people to walk through his grounds, is an old man, and has a son who is a very dragon over the property; and if he hears carriage-wheels approaching, at once he appears, and no pleading for entrance will soften his hard handsome mouth into uttering a consent. He is as disagreeable as he is good-looking. There is a perfect forest of palm trees in his garden, some of them 1200 years old; a few of them bear fruit. The Banana and the prickly pear both ripen in the open air, and there are other plants to be seen that are only known in countries of a much higher temperature. Bordighera has the privilege of supplying Rome with the palm leaves for Palm Sunday.

The Mentonaises are hardly to be called an industrious race, unless by comparison; for they are decidedly better than their neighbours. They have the greatest dislike to work in rain, and never will do so unless forced by circumstances, and then they hold a large umbrella over their heads whilst they dig with the spade with one hand, or chop the wood, or whatever work they may be about. Nothing compensates them for getting wet.

Good Friday is celebrated here by a ceremony differing from that of Monaco in many respects. At

eight o'clock in the evening the people all assemble in the church, which is entirely hung with black; thousands of tapers, ranged in pyramids, light up the building. Singing commences, which is intended to represent lamentations. Then follows music, composed of a great number of different instruments; the airs are intended to be sad and melancholy. Then a funeral sermon is preached in front of our Saviour's tomb, which has been dressed with black, and is lighted by tapers. The Confraternity of Black Penitents, headed by the cross, proceed in procession, each with a lighted taper in their hand. They are followed by other religious communities, and the priests, who are all in mourning. Beneath a canopy of black velvet, ornamented with silver, stands the sarcophagus on which lies the body of Our Lord, represented by a wooden figure bleeding, and terribly painful to behold, with all the instruments of the passion. Eight of the principal of the Mentonaises are chosen to carry these. The authorities of the town follow in their particular dresses; after them come the people all in black, and a taper in their hand. A company of soldiers terminates the procession, then the entire population follows as it best can. This procession leaves the church after making the round of the town, stops on the *Place*, im-

mediately adjoining the quay. There they rest the sarcophagus under an arch, supported by four poles covered with black, and illuminated, the people singing and the instruments playing all the time. After a lapse of about ten minutes the procession returns to the church, where more prayers are said, and then the people return to their homes. Seven thousand people have been known to assemble at Mentone from the neighbouring villages to witness this ceremony, which, however, without being revolting, like that of Monaco, would be better were it dispensed with. The people are now being educated, and cease, therefore, to require these stimulants to religion which can affect the ignorant only. The commune of Mentone allows 15,000 francs annually for the maintenance of the church,—ample, one would imagine; still the priests are trying hard to get an additional 5000; and they probably will succeed, the present authorities being somewhat priest-ridden.

The lemons, oranges, and olives are the staple commodities of the country. The lemons of Mentone keep better and bear packing better than those of Sicily or Corsica. The trees are incessantly bearing, and you will constantly see the bud, the flower, the young fruit, and the ripe yellow lemon on the same

tree at one time. They gather the fruit four times a year, and they are carried down in baskets from the hills to the town on the heads of the peasant women. The oranges are not so fine as those of Spain or Malta, but they are very good if left long enough on the tree; they are not exported, nor indeed are they grown, in the same quantities as the lemon. The blood orange and the mandarine both grow plentifully, also the bitter orange, the chinois, and the citron. A good orange tree produces about 3000 oranges. Essences and scents are manufactured in large quantities. The trees are manured by horn shavings and woollen rags; every two years a trench is dug round the tree, and this manure laid down and covered over again with the earth.

This little sketch of the Mentone of to-day would be incomplete without mention being made of one, known to all foreigners who have ever stayed in or near the town for his invariable courtesy and kindness; we allude to M. François Palmaro, the banker. Rich and poor, high and low, need only apply to him if in distress or trouble, and if human means can avail, they will meet with the relief they desire. This is no fulsome flattery, but a simple statement due to him from one who experienced his unceasing obligingness

and attention, and who was frequently a witness to the benevolence and kindness he showed to those who needed it.

The author feels assured no Englishman who ever knew M. Palmaro but will gladly endorse these few words concerning him.

APPENDIX A.

M. ABEL RENDU'S pretty legend of Anna and Hâroun, of which the following is a literal translation, will, we are quite sure, sufficiently interest those, even not acquainted with the wild and beautiful scenery surrounding the village of St Agnes, to repay them the trouble of perusing it.

ANNA AND HÂROUN.

On the summit of what appears, from the Valley of Borrijo, to be a perpendicular rock stand the ruins of an old castle, which was built, in the latter half of the tenth century, by a celebrated African chief. At a signal from him all his vassals assembled ready to bend their knee in submission, and at his command take up arms either in his defence or aggressively; and the power he possessed he owed more to his exploits against Christians than to his birth or fortune. His audacity was beyond limit, his will inflexible, and his heart without pity. He was brought up to listen to none other than tales almost fabulous from their heroism, and his eyes first opened beneath his father's roof on the spoils of the vanquished. From his infancy he showed a love of adventure and danger. He listened with eagerness to his brothers' exploits against the galleys of their enemies, and he trembled with joy when they spoke of their conquests in Spain and on the coast of Provence, longing to follow their example. In the same manner as young Hannibal swore at the foot of the altar undying hatred to the Romans, so he, at an age when he had barely the strength to lift a sword, swore on the tomb of his ancestors and the Koran as bitter a hatred to the fol-

lowers of Christ; and he kept his oath. From the moment he penetrated into the new possessions of the Moors a thousand times had he given evidence of his courage. When the mothers of Valentia wept for their daughters that had been carried off, they were in their anguish heard to curse but one name: it was the young African's. Alas! they had but one hope left—vengeance, to which they roused their sons; for those that might have brought them consolation were never more to return to them.

Tired of carrying on war in the Peninsula, Hâroun resolved to change the scene of action, and sought, on the sea, fresh dangers and new emotions. The moment was a well-chosen one for the business of pirates. The fleets of the barbarians were in the Mediterranean, and the much-dreaded but victorious standard of the Mussulman sailed in all the gulfs. At Marseilles and Genoa they talked with horror of the captures made by the common enemy; ships carried off, rich cargoes lost, Christians made slaves,—such were the sinister words heard in all the ports.

But this did not satisfy them; they desolated the shores, sacking the villages and towns they surprised; it seemed almost as if heavenly anger aided them and precipitated their steps. The coasts of Provence and Liguria had for long been their prey; the Great Fraxinet * was in their power, and no Christian could cross the Summa Alp without paying tribute.

The mountain of St Agnes had not yet been sullied by the presence of the infidels, though the hill on which Mentone stands had been visited by them; but this powerful position was soon to fall into their hands. The conquest was easy. The fear they engendered had spread all through the littoral; from Nice to Ventimiglia and from Ventimiglia to Albenga solitude reigned. The inhabitants of the valley had taken refuge in the towns beyond their influence.

* M. Germond of St Tropez, who has well studied these localities, thinks there must have been a forest of ash-trees formerly at the end of the gulf on the borders of the sea, and that there there stood a Roman village, called *Fraxinatum*, and that the Saracens, after destroying the village, chose a spot on the heights to build their fortified castle, which they called 'Fraxinet.'

One day the mountain ridges were lit up by fires, kindled as an alarm. Some fishermen had seen the enemy's sails, and, after having ascertained them to be numerous and ready for invasion, they gave warning of the approaching danger.

In truth, Hâroun was advancing with a formidable fleet. Only a month since he had quitted the port of Melilla, and already innumerable disasters had marked his course. On his galleys, which were laden with immense booty, the cries of his captives were heard day and night, mingled with the triumphant songs of the Corsicans.

Sometimes, in order to satisfy the cruel caprice of the pirate's wife, young mothers were brought before her and beaten with rods, and afterwards, the bodies all bleeding, thrown to the bottom of the abyss. To be a Christian and beautiful was a double crime in Sarah's eyes, and one that death alone could atone for. And death was by her orders inflicted.

Amongst the young girls that Hâroun kept prisoners on board his own galley was a maiden of Provence, of illustrious birth and marvellous beauty. The vessel that was bearing her to Spain was surprised by the pirate, and after a bloody battle, in which her father and two brothers perished, she and her attendants were seen transported on board the enemy's ships. Hâroun had witnessed her courage and despair; and he, usually so insensible to carnage, had been seized with pity, on seeing the terrible pallor of her he had just made an orphan, and, understanding her misery, he placed her beneath the protection of his sword; already, and almost without knowing it, he loved her.

Anna was beautiful in every feature and form; it was impossible to see her unmoved. Before the terrible blow had fallen on her she was lovely to behold, and none could part from her without regret; she gave rise to feelings that were not of this earth, but that seemed to be a foretaste of the joys of heaven. But how changed she now became! Her mourning robes encircled her as a winding-sheet; the calmness of her face was changed, as a storm changes

the surface of a quiet sea; she might have been an angel of suffering and pain. The most devoted attentions were paid her by the Saracen hero; he endeavoured to console his victim, for he had a presentiment that one day the young captive would decide his destiny.

'You are sad, my lord!' Sarah, who had been meditating revenge, said to him one evening; 'something seems to weigh on you by day, and to prevent your repose at night. And yet Mahomed smiles on all your enterprises and all your undertakings; he places the lives and fortunes of your enemies at your feet. All rejoice around you, you alone seem sombre and uneasy. From whence arises this sadness? am I unworthy of being told?'

'It is true!' replied Hâroun; 'but, O Sarah, do not try to fathom the cause, I myself cannot understand it.'

'My lord, before this last victory you were the ardent, joyous hero I always loved; now I hardly know you.'

The Moor chief was silent.

'You do not answer,' continued Sarah, after a solemn pause; 'well, then, I will explain this change to you. On board the same ship that holds all that is dear to you in the world—the Koran, your old mother, and the wife of your choice, there is also an infidel on whom you lavish all your care, all your attention.'

'Sarah, who told you such things?'

'My heart divined them. Am I mistaken?'

'Your heart blinds and misleads you.'

'No, no!' cried Sarah in much agitation; 'my heart does not deceive me; you love Anna! You love her—and she shall die!'

This doom, called forth by jealousy, revealed to Hâroun the peril which menaced his protégée; he left Sarah to her rage, and rushed towards the Christian maiden's cabin. There a dreadful spectacle awaited him. Sarah's vengeance was before him. By her orders, two slaves had bound the arms and feet of the innocent captive, and were preparing, under the shelter of night, to cast her into the sea. In presence of this proof of her braving his authority,

which he had believed to be all-powerful, and against the life of one to whom he had promised safety, Hâroun could no longer contain himself. By a look only, he crushed the rash ministers of Moorish implacability, caused Anna to be set at liberty by the same hands that had bound her, and ordered the guilty ones to be imprisoned; he then returned to Sarah, and, without saying a word or pronouncing a syllable, he caused her to be strangled.

At daybreak on the following morning two women were led on deck, bound back to back, and, before the assembled crew, were cast into the sea.

The fleet neared the Ligurian shores. The pilot conducted them into the waters of that magnificent gulf, sheltered from the west winds, that the ancients have so justly named the 'Gulf of Peace.'

At a glance Hâroun took in the advantages of the situation, and with an eagle's eye detected and fixed on the rock of St Agnes, as the spot whereon to fly his flag. He caused all the ships to assemble round his own, and choosing 100 of his bravest followers, declared to them he would sustain the honour of Islam in these valleys, and invited them to follow him. All desired to share the glory and danger of their chief; but Hâroun told them that other struggles awaited them in the neighbouring mountains, where believers were already triumphant in the sacred cause, and that they were, with their fleets, to go and join their brothers at the Great Fraxinet in the Sambracian Gulf. On their arrival they were to say that Hâroun was carrying on war in the mountains, and ready to help them with his intellect or his sword.

Then the hundred warriors he had selected got into the boats, taking their property and arms with them. Then the prisoners, chained, were lowered; amongst them—resigned and free—was their fellow companion, Anna. Soon the little fleet cast off Cape Martin and landed their living freight. The Moorish troop advanced towards the mountains; nothing impeded their progress, no one attempted to stay their steps, all had flown at their approach, and in a few hours the summit of the chosen rock was reached, and

there, amidst enthusiastic cheers, the first stones of the fortress (the ruins of which still form a prominent feature from the valley) were laid. In a month Hâroun celebrated its completion, amidst the dancing and singing of his companions. Then came the chiefs of the various Saracen forces stationed at St Hospice, Ezà, and the Great Fraxinet, offering him the command of all. The hero was touched at this mark of esteem; he accepted, on condition that he only directed in the hour of common danger, and in the mean while he would remain at the post he had himself chosen and desired to render famous. The chiefs thanked him, and after exchanging armours, they quitted in glorying Allah, who had sent them such an auxiliary.

When Hâroun considered his new position impregnable, he commenced his barbarous expeditions. In organizing massacres and surrounding himself with ruins he believed he was fulfilling the prophet's pious will. It was on his return from these journeys, still stained by the blood of his victories, that the pitiless African presented himself before Anna, imploring a smile, but in vain. Between them there existed a double barrier, her religion and the blood of her relations. If she beheld in him the man that saved herself, she likewise beheld the murderer of her father and brothers. Hâroun knew this, but he loved her from the first moment he saw her; it was his despair, and it weighed heavily on him. He reproached himself for being a hater of her religion, and hesitated between his holy faith and unholy love. But there was no escaping from either. Never had he seen aught so beautiful; she was a waking dream to him, hardly to be realized, yet always before him. For months a deep melancholy took possession of him, and seemed to deaden his faculties. War no longer had charms for him; he ceased to carry desolation into the valley; he no longer climbed mountains in search of an enemy. The passionate lover of strifes and peril sought now but repose and solitude. He heard with comparative indifference of the first reverses sustained by the Saracens. This change rendered his companions anxious, and

paralyzed their courage, for their brave chief was an army in himself to them.

His visits to Anna became more frequent; every day he devoted some hours to her. In these long interviews he endeavoured much more to induce her to turn Mohammedan than to love him. From a warrior he became an apostle, and persisted without hope in trying to convert a woman. It was his thought day and night. He offered everything, and himself as well, if she would adopt the faith that denied Christ. But nothing moved her; firm as a rock she replied by unanswerable convictions. She expressed her gratitude to one who had respected her innocence; and, profiting by the liberty his visits gave her, she in her turn used all her endeavours to persuade him of the righteousness of her faith. The maiden now became the apostle; and the hero left her more disquieted and more in love than ever.

One day, after a long conversation, in which his passion but gained a stronger hold of him, Hâroun, weary of struggling on against hope, seeing none in any shape but by his own defeat, went to his armour room, called to him four of his most devoted companions, made them gather all his treasures together, diamonds sufficient for a crown, gold, and his rich armours, filled three large coffers, which he sealed with the prophet's seal, and then returned to the maiden, for whom he was about to sacrifice all—faith, his colours, and his future. He found her on her knees, her eyes filled with tears, and raised on high,—she was praying for him. Her tears, her humble attitude, the whole scene overcame him, and in a tender voice he said:

'Anna, fear not. I am not come to trouble your solitude for long. You pray to your God to come to your aid, and perhaps he has led me here to comfort and save you. You know I love you, you know my life and fortune are yours, and that there is no sacrifice I would not make for you. Anna, will you be mine?'

'My lord,' replied the young girl, much moved, but not surprised, 'you are a Mussulman, I a Christian.'

Those simple words fell on Hâroun's heart like a drop of iced water on a burning coal. For a moment he was speechless, then, recalled to himself, he broke out, and in burning tones cried:

'I love you, Anna; I love you, and you shall be mine!'

Then he drew back, as if himself astonished at his audacity, but soon he continued:

'You shall be mine, not as a slave, not as a captive, but as a free woman, as an honoured wife, for I respect you as much as I love you. Listen: in asking you to-day to unite your destiny with mine, I knew what obstacles I should have to encounter, what difficulties to overcome. I have foreseen everything. The grave objection you have just raised I expected it, and I will answer it. In the first place, let me thank you for having found no other in your heart. I am a Mussulman, you say, and you are a Christian. My worship is abhorrent to you, and my faith unknown. Alas, I have neither worship nor faith! You have taken all from me. I know not what magic power you possess, nor what supernatural influence you exercise over those that approach you; but from the time I saw you an extraordinary change has come over me, and that change, Anna, it is you alone have produced.'

'My lord, that is not a woman's work.'

'Anna, it is you alone have worked that marvel. You have, without desiring it, turned the whole current of my life. I have now but one thought, one affection, one worship—yourself. There is nothing that for you I would not do. For you I will learn the religion you profess, I will renounce my country, the tombs of my ancestors, war, which has been my second life. I will adopt the heaven beneath which you were born, and the calm and peaceful existence to which you aspire.'

'At the price of such a sacrifice, of which I understand the greatness, Hâroun, I am yours.'

Then the young hero looked down upon her with an expression no words could convey; and, taking her hand, he pressed it to his heart. They were affianced.

On the same day, at midnight, Hâroun, accompanied by Anna, his four companions, his old mother, and two women, who had never left their loved mistress, left the castle in silence, turning their steps towards the sea. Hâroun had had the forethought to write on the walls of his armour-room a few prophetic lines revealing to his followers the approaching ruin of the Mussulman cause in those countries, and advised them to retire to the Great Fraxinet, where all efforts for the struggle should be concentrated. As for himself, he added, he went where Allah, the master of all destinies, called him. Even at that moment, so fraught with importance to him, all kinds of contradictory thoughts assailed him: at one time reproaching himself for deserting the fortress that with his own hands had been constructed, and accusing himself of leaving to their evil fate the valiant friends who, with him, had fought the battle of faith; he considered himself as a traitor; then, he could cast from him all remorse and all regret, and merely look forward to the happy future with her who had become his all. When he looked at her everything was forgotten but herself.

In the midst of these contending feelings he reached the shore with his little band. A small bark, like an arrow, awaited him, that he had himself built in case of need. On this bark with a lateen sail were placed all the warrior's riches; but his most precious prize, Anna, Hâroun took in his arms and went on board the first, and was then followed by the women, and his companions, who were clever seamen. In a few hours the east wind carried them towards the Gulf of Sambracia, from whence they could see the lights of the fortress. That was the last trial for the deserter chief, though not the last reproach.

The following day they cast anchor in the port of Marseilles, which little dreamt it was receiving within its harbour one of its most implacable enemies. Anna at once repaired with her lover to the Abbey of St Victor, to thank heaven for her escape from so many perils; she repaired with Hâroun to the catacombs, and there at the tomb of the martyrs she knelt down, facing the altar, where a

priest was saying mass, and prayed with earnestness for the conversion of the infidel. When she had finished, she sought Hâroun, when what was her astonishment to find her petition already answered, for Hâroun was at the end of the chapel on his knees at prayer! He was a Christian, the young maiden's voice had been heard! She approached her lover and took his hand, happy beyond words to express, as for the future their religion would unite instead of dividing them.

Both now left the church, and went to seek the house of Anna's mother, but there sorrowful news greeted her. On hearing the sad tidings that had rendered her a widow and childless her heart broke, and she died. The orphan girl wept bitterly; then, after paying this first debt to a cherished memory, she went to the bishop with Hâroun, to claim, as pilgrims and shipwrecked are wont to do, his good protection. That one was a happy day in the pastor's house: he had gathered around his table all the nobles who had sworn to hunt the Africans from Liguria and Gaul. Amongst them William, Viscount of Marseilles, was the most remarkable, from his noble bearing and imposing figure; it was he who was to command the expedition; he had himself organized it, and both his heart and his head were in the matter. As soon as the prelate was informed of his visitors' names, he went towards them and heard from Anna's own lips the tale of her sorrows; he embraced them and blessed them, and, quite overcome, he rejoined his noble guests, and told them the joyful news.

'My lords!' he cried, 'Hâroun is here, and he is a Christian!'

At the mention of Hâroun's name uttered with emphasis by the bishop each one grasped their sword and were astounded; but when they heard the whole tale of the Provençal maiden and the object of their journey, a cry of joy burst from every lip, as at the news of a great victory. All promised to be present at the solemn rites of abjuration and baptism, and to give to the illustrious pair sumptuous fêtes.

Soon after, surrounded by the most famous warriors of Provence

Hâroun abjured the religion that he had for so long been an apostle of, and received baptism as a Christian. On the next day his aged mother and servants followed his example. Eight days later the marriage that had cost Hâroun so many sacrifices was celebrated with great pomp and rejoicing. The nobles vied with each other in entertaining them, but William of Marseilles outdid them all. He wished to receive them in his own palace, and he exchanged armour with Hâroun.

The hero's hopes were fulfilled; with Anna he tasted that happiness he had dreamt of. At times a regret for his companions and his desertion of them troubled him; however, these happy days were soon to end. Hâroun was not long to survive the emotions that had assailed him; war and fatigue his body of iron was capable of enduring, but the struggles of the heart had rendered him weak and feeble. A woman had conquered him, but that woman had a mission, and that mission was to be accomplished. No prayers, no tender love, were able to save him from his fate; he lingered on a few months, and then he died in the true faith.

Marseilles caused magnificent funeral honours to be given him; all the corporations, the citizens of both sexes and all ranks joined in the procession, which the bishop and clergy, with William and his officers in deep mourning, led.

A few years later, when the Viscount of Marseilles had delivered Provence and Liguria from their savage oppressors, and thus Hâroun's prophecy was fulfilled, Anna, who had already buried her sorrow in solitude, resolved to break entirely with the world, and finish her days in the same spot where she had been exiled. She divided her possessions between the Church of St Victor and the Church of Ventimiglia, and retired to the Castagné valley, at the foot of that mountain where she had wept and prayed so much.

She founded a chapel on the slope where the village now stands, and there she went often to pray for the conversion of the Moors. Of that chapel not even the ruins remain.

For long she was regarded more as an angel than a woman, and

to her prayers was attributed the expulsion of the infidels. When they no longer saw her ascend the mountain to the chapel, they thought she had been carried up to heaven, not that she had died.

APPENDIX B.

On a portion of this newly-acquired territory Claudine caused a small chapel to be constructed, which was dedicated to the Virgin. Very soon it gained a great celebrity, in consequence of the miracles said to be worked by the holy mother; and it increased so much, that Lambert prayed Pope Sixtus IV. to make an inquiry into the matter. Father Martin of Bologna, a famous theologian, was sent to look into the matter. The result was that he attested to the authenticity of these miracles, and the faith of the people so increased and the number of pilgrims to Carnolès was so enormous, that Lambert solicited and obtained permission from the pope to build a church and convent; the monks residing there to have the charge of the special worship of the miraculous Virgin. When the church and convent were completed, two monks only resided there, but soon they greatly increased; and the building was called, in honour of the Virgin, *La Madonna del Carnolès*. In 1573 Pope Gregory XII. accorded a plenary indulgence to whoever, after having confessed, visited for the first time the Church of Carnolès on the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, and there prayed for 'the concord of Christian princes, the extirpation of heresy, and the tranquillity of the holy mother Church.'

The church is now a mere place for wood or lumber and rubbish, the house built against it and over it being let to visitors who may go to Mentone to pass the winter season. The house is called La Madonna, as well as the neighbourhood itself in which it stands.

APPENDIX C.

THIS man, named Barraban, took service in France, and died, in 1523, under the most extraordinary circumstances. The following account of his death is taken from a letter written by Nicholas Galerato, of Chambéry, to Antonio Longo, agent to Augustin Grimaldi.

'The President Lambert arrived at the court of France on the 20th at night. The following day when I went to see him he turned the conversation immediately on the death of one named Barraban, who must have been present at the death of the late and very illustrious Seignior of Monaco, and he said to me: "I have an interesting account to relate to you of a man who killed your good lord and friend the Seignior of Monaco." He then told me how this Barraban, being at Rouen with some other companions, who perhaps were like himself, and how, each of them having retired to their room, he, who had remained alone in his own, awoke out of his first sleep screaming terribly, saying, "Alarm! Alarm! I am dead!" His companions, who slept in the adjoining rooms, awoke and went to him, to inquire into the cause of such an alarm. He answered, "I am dead! I am wounded to death! The Lords of Monaco and Dolceacqua came to strike me, and the Lord of Dolceacqua stabbed me mortally, saying, 'Traitor, by your advice I killed my uncle here present.'" His companions thought him the dupe of some terrible dream, especially as, having undressed him, they found no wounds. But he still insisted: "I tell you he wounded me in the heart, here, and I can live no longer; give me something to eat, I pray, for I am feeling faint." And as they did not refuse him, he continued to eat for twenty hours, and every one was astonished at seeing such voraciousness. He replied, to their astonishment, that his stomach was on fire, and that he felt sinking more and more.

'Finally, after twenty hours the conclusion he came to was, that

he was going to speak to Pilate. Thus died Barraban; he died the death of a sinner, so that one might say of him, with the Psalmist, "Whither shall I go from thy spirit, or whither shall I flee from thy presence? If I ascend up to heaven, thou art there; if I make my bed in hell, behold, thou art there." Some people wished to have his body opened to examine the heart, which, according to his own words, was wounded by the Lord of Dolceacqua.'

APPENDIX D.

Soon after passing Turbia, as you travel from Mentone to Nice, a broad road, leading off the main road, bearing to the right by a slight but continued descent, brings you in about forty minutes on foot, to the old grey pile of buildings so celebrated as the Convent of Laghetto. Formerly—centuries back—a little chapel only stood there, even then of world-wide fame by the miracles worked by the 'Mother of Sorrows.'

In the 16th century a Monacian, named Camilla Porta, suffering from an incurable disease, bethought herself of the then little ruined chapel; thither she had herself carried, and offered up incessant prayers for three days to the Blessed Virgin, whose intercession for her was so effectual that she returned to Monaco perfectly cured. In token of her gratitude Camilla built the church now standing, and which from that time has been the resort of pilgrims from all countries. At Whitsuntide and Lady-Day the crowd of carriages of every description and kind, and the thousands of foot travellers wending their way to gain some cherished wish from 'Our Lady of Laghetto,' is almost incredible; the whole road from both Turbia and Nice, besides the mountain paths, is one living mass. There, in the open air, they encamp during the three days their devotion lasts,

whilst a favoured few, as far as space permits, are received within the convent walls. The cloisters and the walls of the church are covered with ex-votos. It was here that Charles Albert, after the disastrous battle of Novare, which ended his kingly career, rested on his way, and offered up prayers for his country—prayers that have been granted, surely even beyond what he could ever have anticipated.

APPENDIX E.

WHEN the railway company began to enter on the question of purchasing the land for cutting the line in the territory belonging to the little principality, the people, well aware that France must fulfil her agreement for it to pass through Monaco, demanded such exorbitant sums for their land, that the company at once refused to pay it. The people held out, feeling certain that in the end they would receive what they asked; till one day it was rumoured that the railway, being bound to run through Monaco, would do so, but that they would tunnel the line through the principality, and have no station between Ezà and Roccabruna. This cunning way of fulfilling their contract at once brought the Monacians to their senses, and they accepted payment at the same rate as the Mentonaises.

APPENDIX F.

THIS claim is said to have originated in the Jesuit Fathers, who occupy in Monaco the Convent of the Visitation, which till 1860 was used as a barracks for the Sardinian troops, and which was offered to them as a college by the Prince of Monaco, when, in 1862, they were driven out of Italy, on account of their attending too much to political and too little to religious matters. Their object in inducing Prince Charles to get possession of Cape Martin being their desire to build a convent for women, on the same spot where one formerly stood on the Cape; the ruins of which may still be seen. This convent was broken up, it is said, in the following manner. The nuns fearing, they said, a descent being made on them by the Saracens, one day prayed the men of Mentone and Roccabruna, if they ever heard their bell ring an alarm, to feel sure they were in danger, and at once rush to their rescue. They promised faithfully to do so; but the nuns thought it would be wise to test their truth, and they discussed the wisdom of ringing the bell merely to try them. They did so, the bell pealed forth in the dead of night in the most violent manner, the men, according to their word, rushed to the spot as well armed as they could be and ready to fight to the last, when all they saw were a pack of women, who instantly went down on their knees, imploring to be forgiven for having doubted them, and admitting why they had rang the bell. The men left angry and indignant. Not long after, however, the dreaded Saracens actually came; the bell was rung, but no one appeared, and every nun was carried off.

THE END.

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